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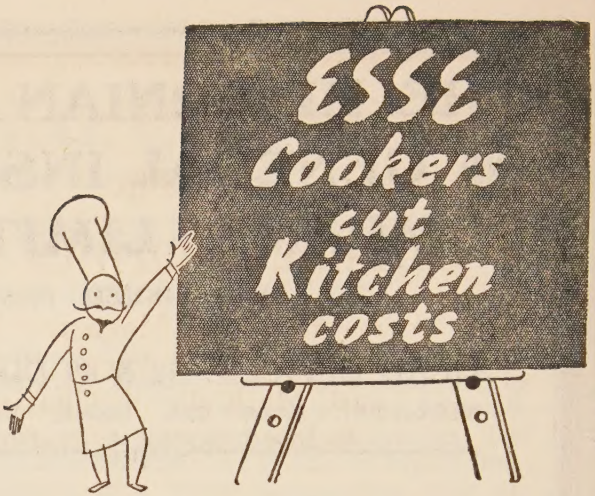

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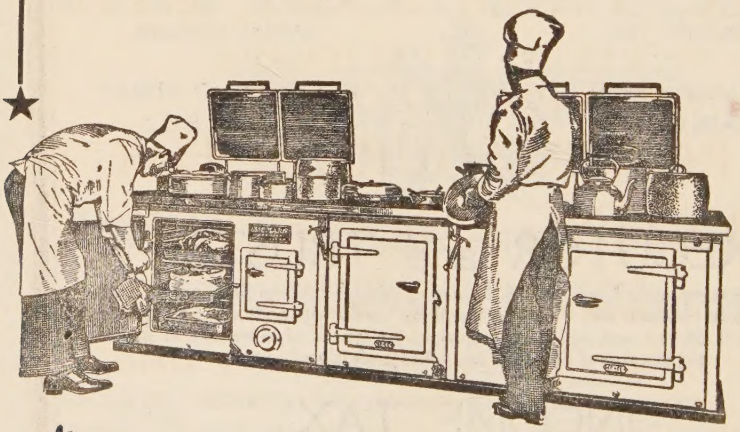

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An Irish Quarterly Review

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THE PRESIDENT

THE CASE FOR PHILOSOPHY IN SECONDARY EDUCATION

BY ARTHUR LITTLE, S.J.

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IN an article in STUDIES for March 1937 it was argued that the cure for the "present discontents" must be sought in a renewed propagation of Scholastic philosophy. The article concluded with the proposition that Ireland could best guarantee her future by introducing philosophy as a subject in all secondary schools. This present article is a sequel to that one and depends upon it for the full strength of its case. It aims (1) at setting forth the need of a knowledge of philosophy, not so much in the public interest in this instance as in the interest of the educated individual, and (2) at considering the practicability of making of it a school subject.

The fundamental argument for philosophy must first be proposed. Fundamental arguments are apt to appear unreal, because they promise for a project not material but spiritual advantages. Nevertheless it is unwise to discard an argument merely because it will only appeal to the best minds. In the present case the argument derives from the essential purpose of education. All will admit that no aim of education is more important than the perfection of the intellect. Now the intellect is perfected not by merely being trained to acquire knowledge with system and ease, but by the knowledge itself acquired. And clearly the knowledge that will perfect the intellect—since omniscience is out of the question—must include the knowledge of those truths that are the ultimate explanations of everything. Furthermore, this knowledge must be knowledge of truth as truth; the knower must see *for himself* the truth that he believes. He must be able to give himself good reasons for his belief, so that this may be a reasoned conviction. For no man can be said to know anything perfectly until he sees that it must be, until he has evidence

but it does not give our children the reasons they need for holding their fundamental principles. They hold the Faith on authority that is in fact valid, but they lack a grasp of those natural truths that prove the reasonableness of accepting that authority. Thus if challenged by a rationalist argument against the Faith they can only, with dissatisfaction to themselves and others, oppose its alleged reason by quoting authority. Now when such Catholics are constantly reading subversive but plausible propaganda, in the long run many will inevitably be shaken in their faith and others, loyal to their traditions in their dim-sighted but noble way, will at least be subject to torturing mind-searchings.

The answer to the problem then is clear. Fr. Sertillanges in a startling manner indicated it at Cork, on his visit there a few years ago (I quote from memory) : " I find the Faith well practised in Ireland," he said. " But, I ask, is there in the country a strong body of thought and argument sufficient to overcome, if need be, intellectual attacks on the Faith from without ? " We cannot overcome seductive errors urged in the name of reason except by the truth urged in the name of reason. We must meet the very fair imitations of reason imported from abroad by reason itself. The Faith is secure in no Catholic country to-day in which its philosophical presuppositions and confirmations are not widely current as reasoned convictions among the laity. For the nature of faith, which is a *rational* virtue, is to flourish in conditions of intellectual enlightenment, of truth *seen*, of philosophy.

Thirdly, as was noted in the previous article, the welfare and prestige of Ireland recommend the propagation of philosophy amongst the people. The process of building the polity of the nation is not yet complete. We desire its structure to be Catholic. But unless its architects and their co-operators see for themselves what principles are Catholic, why they are Catholic, and why they are wise, they will not with all their admitted goodwill embody these perfectly in the forms of the State ; and when social or political forms have once hardened into custom and tradition, they are stubborn to change. Again, we are the only Catholic nation in the world, not even

excepting Poland, that is not as yet harassed by anti-clericalism and naturalism. We have the best opportunity, and therefore the strictest duty, of exemplifying in ourselves the full effectiveness of Catholic principles in building up a people. But this *full* effectiveness can only be realised if people actively co-operate in putting them into practice and do not merely passively acquiesce in them. This can only be achieved if the mind as well as the external organisation of the people, clergy *and* laity, is intimately convinced of the truth of these principles—or, in other words, instructed in philosophy.

So far this most favoured nation has contributed very few works of an abiding order to Catholic literature. In this way certainly it is doing little to exemplify the effect of Catholic principles on the mind and so to answer the expectations of the Catholic world. It may be added that an acquaintance with philosophy has always characterised our people; the ideal Irishman is a philosopher. To say nothing of the renowned line of Irish mediaeval Scholastics, the ordinary medical men of that period also knew something of metaphysics; this will soon be proved on the publication of a fine piece of scholarship now nearing completion which will contain a number of Scholastic tracts from the late mediaeval period *in Irish*. Philosophy was taught in the Hedge Schools—for example in Tuam and Killaloe in 1731, in Carlow in 1791.[1] It was an essential subject in Clongowes (and doubtless in Belvedere, which was founded under the same auspices) from its foundation in 1815 until 1847. It is even now taught by the Sacred Heart nuns in Éire to their pupils. Finally, to show the mind of our present government let me quote (again from memory) some words of Mr. de Valera's to the International Educational Conference at Dublin some years ago: "It is useless to teach children the features and forces of the material world unless we also teach them the higher laws and purposes that these material realities subserve."

Again, a training in philosophy is an excellent preparation for professional careers and for success in professional exami-

[1] See *Educational Systems in Ireland*, by Rev. T. Corcoran, S.J. To Fr. Corcoran and his works this article is indebted beyond measure for information and suggestions

nations. Even if it were not so, we should still advocate it; for education aims at the formation of a good man, not of a commercial asset. But in fact the knowledge of many professions is not complete without some philosophical knowledge. This is specially true of Medicine and Law. Since the former now includes the treatment of mental disorders, it cannot be called a true science unless it takes account of the spirituality of the human soul; neither can jurisprudence unless it includes study of the natural law. Lawyers and doctors (and some of them have given me this opinion) are simply more efficient professionally for a knowledge of philosophy. And all professional studies benefit by philosophy inasmuch as it trains the intellect to methodical study and the formation of personal judgements, so that progress in other studies is more firm and expeditious. One example may be cited to show that some practical people at least are convinced of the value of philosophy to professional men. In Montreal there are two universities: McGill University, which is non-sectarian, and Laval University, which is Catholic. In the latter the professional courses are longer by a year because a course in philosophy is compulsory. Nevertheless the proportion of students, including many Protestants, coming to Laval increases year by year because, as the students themselves confess, the public has begun to recognise that the extra year spent at philosophy increases professional ability—and consequently income. Incidentally this paragraph indicates, as resulting from philosophical studies, certain qualities very covetable to those who seek social or literary success.

It is sure to be objected, however, that too many subjects are already taught in the schools. We shall deal with the practical weakness of this objection towards the end of the article. Meanwhile it can easily be shown that, if philosophy were adopted in our schools, so far from further extending the curriculum it could be made the remedy for its overcrowding. Education in Éire to-day has no single end in view. Each subject offers certain advantages, but (as is inevitable if the really essential subject is omitted) no single

subject is unanimously held essential for an educated man. No two people seem able to agree even on what subjects are important nor on the relative importance of each to each. The question must of necessity be more or less arbitrarily settled by the Department of Education. Meanwhile no one knows what we are trying to make of our children, but everyone thinks that someone else does. But if we recognised as the essence of a liberal education that subject which gives clear conviction of the greatest truths, then we could eliminate or restrict such subjects as do not help that essential one and grade the time given to the others in proportion to their eventual utility for its study. This would impart purpose and unity to our educational policy. And conceive the result! Surely a man who has reasoned convictions of the main truth of things, with some knowledge of the contemporary world and the ability to express himself in words, is already without further accomplishments well educated—better educated indeed and intellectually more effective than the majority of children who now leave our schools with crammed memories but without reasoned convictions or the means of acquiring them.

Again, it is bound to be objected that boys and girls cannot grasp abstract reasonings before the school-leaving age of eighteen. It at once occurs to one to answer that some of them *do* grasp mathematics. But there is a more conclusive answer: they *do* grasp philosophy. From the time of St. Augustine until the middle of the last century philosophy was the central subject in the education of Christian boys. It is no coincidence that it only dropped out after the diffusion of Kantian scepticism. At the present day a two years' course in philosophy is given to Catholic boys between sixteen and eighteen in France, Poland and Canada, in Columbia and other South American States, and with conspicuous success in the High Schools of the United States. It was given in Spain certainly until the abdication of the monarchy. Éire is thus seen to stand outside the Catholic tradition and the main Catholic practice on this point. To say that Irish boys at sixteen are not fit for the studies that boys of that age else-

where pursue successfully is uncomplimentary either to our present methods of education or to our national intelligence. I suspect that neither deserves the slur; indeed I am certain that our intelligence does not, for scores of Irish priests will bear me out that Irish students of philosophy and theology abroad hold their own with the best of other nations. Irish boys *can* learn philosophy at sixteen if they are skilfully taught it. In fact the real problem is not to find the requisite boy but the requisite teacher. Experience is doubtless needed to perfect the teacher. But meanwhile he can, to a great extent, be prepared by knowing exactly what he should teach and what teaching methods are practical to employ for the purpose. So I shall complete this article with some practical suggestions on both points.

First then what precisely should be taught in the class of philosophy? It cannot be too much insisted on that we should teach a sufficient extent of philosophy sufficiently thoroughly to secure our purpose, conviction based on the evidence of the truth. If the teaching of philosophy is not recognisably effective, its ineffectiveness will really be due to imperfect pedagogics and organisation. But the public will inevitably interpret the result as proof of the absolute impossibility of teaching philosophy to children; just as many now argue that it is impossible to propagate Irish because it has not yet been propagated successfully through the schools. False as such logic is, it will suffice to secure the abandonment for an indefinite period of that teaching of philosophy for which there is already a pressing need. Some risk of failure there must be, and the end is well worth some risk. But it would be better not to introduce philosophy into our schools at all than to run any grave risk of failure, for we have in the matter an educational *principle* to preserve from public discredit. And to teach a mere smattering of philosophy to children must inevitably have no result except to leave them with a distaste for the subject.

We should therefore from the beginning aim at teaching the *adequate minimum* at least of philosophy. This should comprise, at a moderate estimate, treatment of just three

questions: (1) the existence of God; (2) the immortality of the soul; (3) the moral law. Philosophy has fulfilled its main function when it has made a man to *see* for himself these truths. But clearly to fulfil that function, to prove these truths thoroughly, many other questions must be studied. God's existence presupposes a grasp of the principles of causality and of other parts of ontology, and it cannot be said to be proved satisfactorily unless followed by some analysis of God's nature. The immortality of the soul presupposes its spirituality, which again involves a study of the intellect, and this in turn probably requires some knowledge of matter and form. The moral law involves the study of man's last end and of obligation, which presupposes the freedom of the will; and its study cannot be adequate without some consideration of the particular obligations imposed by the natural law—without in fact at last entering upon sociology. Recently Cardinal MacRory has urged all Catholic schools to teach a course in ethics and sociology. In deference to his high authority, as well as to the present importance of the subject, we might give to this third subject at least as much time as is given to the other two combined. But these are included because the truths considered are as much challenged to-day as Catholic morality and social practice. Moreover, ethics is the study of the relation in practice of man to God and is determined in nature by the natures of the terms of that relation. In other words, any convincing ethical argument presupposes that the existence and nature of God and man are already established. All three questions, therefore, are necessarily treated if a course in sociology is to produce lasting conviction.

With respect to the manner of teaching philosophy it is better not to prescribe any method, at least in detail, for universal use, though some general principles should be observed. For instance, a teacher of philosophy should not be overburdened with other work; no subject requires in teaching such freshness and pliability of mind. Granted this, his function is easily stated: to *show* the truth so vividly and clearly that his pupils will *see* it. Every teacher of talent will

in some measure have his own method of doing this and, if it is successful, it will be in the interests of all concerned to allow him to employ it. Nevertheless some points must, it would seem, be observed by every teacher. He should frequently indicate to the pupils the purpose, religious and otherwise, of what he is teaching. He should make them study the real problems in themselves, not what various authors have thought or said about them. Neither must he permit them merely to learn, but he must lead them by degrees actively to *see*, to form personal conclusions on the evidence presented. To keep the reality of the subject before the minds of the class he should use modern idiom, as conversational as he pleases so long as it is precise, and avoid more technical terms than are necessary, though he should explain the commoner technical terms carefully. He should illustrate abstract and universal truths by concrete examples and show by allusion to contemporary thought how to meet modern errors. If this is done skilfully, there is no reason why the pupils should not take in the metaphysical proofs of St. Thomas and adopt them, rather than the less peremptory proofs drawn immediately from physical facts, where there is a choice. Some will object that we need a text-book. Actually there is no such absolute need. In at least one well-known French school the master gives his own course, writing a summary of his lesson before class each day on the board.

Though no hard and fast rules of procedure can prudently be prescribed, it may be useful to describe one way of many in which a class of philosophy could be conducted. The master has written out briefly but adequately the statement of a problem on the blackboard. Suppose the problem to be the reconciliation of God's goodness with the sufferings of the world. Having explained the problem so as to make it seem as knotty as possible, he will ask some boy to suggest a solution. The boy will generally reply that he cannot or, if he is pert, may suggest a superficial answer, which the master will at once show to be inadequate. Then the master will proceed like Socrates in a Platonic dialogue: "But does not the

prefect of studies sometimes give pain to boys ?" Boy : " He certainly does." Master : " And is he not a good man ?" Boy (reluctantly yielding to the truth) : " He is in his way." Master : " So it is not impossible for a good person to give pain ?" Boy : " Apparently not." And so from a comprehension of the local prefect of studies the boy will be led to some grasp of the problems that confront the analogical Prefect, and at last to a tentative solution of the master's problem. The master will then ask another boy to criticise that solution. Finally, he will call for volunteers to offer their criticisms and solutions, and he is sure of a good response if he has interested the class. After some discussion he will then turn the other face of the blackboard, which transpires to be quite large enough for a terse explanation of the meaning of goodness, a proof of the goodness of God, and some heads of explanation of the problem of evil. All this he will explain with concrete examples of the evils of the world. Here he must be clear and brief, but interesting. Some of the boys will now have difficulties to urge against his solution. This time the master will induce the objector to discuss the matter with another boy in public, while he directs the argument and, if necessary, keeps the peace. In study the boys will state the thesis in writing, explain carefully its meaning, and prove it thoroughly. The next class will begin by the master putting difficulties on the thesis to some of the boys before repeating more or less the process of yesterday with another thesis.

More or less, we say, for it will sustain interest to vary the procedure—and at times widely, for instance with a set debate on a philosophical subject or a short paper followed by critical speeches. This might entail more attention than at present to rhetoric in the earlier stages of the school course especially to extempore speaking, and in the still earlier stages to grammar. Other arguments might be adduced for giving to formal regular training in rhetoric a place even predominant over written composition. One notices, for instance, how much more effective in speech, even if not in thought, Americans are as a rule than Englishmen or Irishmen ; rhetoric in

America is highly honoured in educational practice. To have to bear themselves thus in controversy will urge the children to study philosophy; for clever boys are naturally vain of their intelligence and girls are naturally ambitious, while both heartily dislike to appear incompetent in public. In this children have a certain advantage over ecclesiastical students of philosophy, who are trained to humility and so must depend on their sense of duty for their stimulus.

Nevertheless many teachers will find their resources for Platonic dialogue too limited to dispense entirely with a text-book. Probably it will be eventually found advisable to get one written. But meanwhile several good ones are available in French and one very good one in Latin for schoolboys by Fr. Boyer. Any of these could be translated. In any case text-books in English can be obtained from America. One to whom I have already acknowledged my gratitude makes the pertinent suggestion of compiling an anthology of philosophical passages from the works of Newman, W. G. Ward, and more recent writers of their rank to serve as a reader. Such an anthology could be very useful as a subsidiary in stimulating the minds of children to *realise* their philosophy, discern it as verified in the world around them, for this is a function of prose in the hands of an artist.[1]

Finally it is essential for success that the course in philosophy should enjoy a prestige amongst the public, the teachers, and the children not inferior to that of any other subject. It is impossible to see any reason for excluding philosophy from the official programme. For one thing the doctrines taught (if we except the question of divorce) are all held by Protestants, so that no special provision need be made for them (though it could be made if they desired it). And the sense of community in the same ideals would strengthen the solidarity of the two creeds not only nationally but in their opposition to irreligion. The Polish government, which has to deal with a large non-Catholic minority, makes

[1] A possible text-book by an English publisher is *Modern Thomistic Philosophy*, by S. P. Phillips, D.D. (Burns Oates. 2 vols. 9s. each). It is clear, simple, and interesting; on the other hand it is rather bulky and expensive.

philosophy compulsory. It is not absolutely necessary, however advisable, for the sufficient fulfilment of its purpose in schools that it should be made compulsory in Éire; but it is necessary that it should receive official recognition and honour.

Would the inclusion of philosophy, then, in the official curriculum entail much change in the time and manner of teaching and study devoted to the other subjects? Probably, if the claims of philosophy were fully recognised and its full dues rendered to it, a complete revolution in educational theory and practice would ensue, as has already been hinted in this article. But to ensure the minimum adequate to make it fruitful, to introduce it successfully, little change will be needed. The course outlined could be completed in a year if not more than two other important subjects were studied simultaneously; and this restriction of subjects would facilitate concentration on philosophy. But if required, it could be extended over two years with the inclusion of many other subjects. Where there is a will, there is a way.

Much more could be written, but the essentials of the case are here. Let the last word be to stress the fundamental argument. Philosophy gives a man an independent grasp of ultimate truths and therefore the means of governing himself. A man who cannot govern himself cannot be rationally governed by any authority, ecclesiastical or civil, but will demand coercion in proportion to the intrinsic lawlessness of his own mind. To-day when news—that is, truth contingent which interests by being topical and sensational—has diverted the public attention from necessary and fundamental truth, which is forgotten because it is eternal, the whole stability of the mind is so shaken that it has begun to issue in external revolution and anarchy. The very multiplication of laws—international, criminal, social (for instance, censorship laws)—witnesses to the inability of people to govern themselves. We wish to preserve this country, hitherto less corrupted than most others, from the tide of modern revolt from order. We must, therefore, reveal to our people with a new peremptoriness the great truths by which they should direct themselves, and

the best means to this end is a course of philosophy in our secondary schools. Arthur Little

Comments on the foregoing Article

NO. 1.—BY MOST REV. MICHAEL BROWNE, D.D., D.C.L.
Bishop of Galway and Kilmacduagh
Senator of the National University of Ireland

Having read Fr. Little's article, and the earlier one to which he refers us for the argument (*Studies*, March 1937), I had to re-read them to assure myself on two points : 1° what exactly he means by philosophy; 2° for whom he thinks it necessary.

As to 1° the earlier article is very clear, for it speaks throughout of metaphysics ; but the second article says " to teach fundamental truths, along with the reasons that prove them true, is to teach philosophy " (p. 530). Philosophers are usually very particular about definitions ; yet does not theology also teach fundamental truths with the reasons that prove them true ? Which is Fr. Little's main object, that people know fundamental truths or that they know the truths discernible by unaided reason ? Because he speaks so often about ' seeing for oneself,'[1] ' evidence,' ' personal and independent judgements,' I conclude he means by philosophy the fundamental truths knowable by the light of reason, but it would have been much easier if he had said so !

For whom then is philosophy or metaphysics necessary ? " It is the one and only essential subject for all educated Irishmen " he declares in the earlier article (p. 106). As everybody is educated nowadays in our modern democratic state, it follows philosophy is necessary for everybody. How then is the Catholic Church so negligent in not teaching it to everybody at any sacrifice ? And why did not Christ teach all about causality and matter and form to the Apostles ? If philosophy is the one essential subject, what becomes of the doctrines of the Trinity, Incarnation, Church and the Sacraments ? Not being taught in philosophy, are they non-essential ?

If on the other hand philosophy is necessary only for the leading class—doctors and lawyers, politicians and editors—then the question arises, what is the best time to give it to them. Obviously any time before they begin to ' lead ' will do, and perhaps the later the better.

Fr. Little, as a professor of philosophy in Tullamore, is naturally enthusiastic about his subject and pardonably so ; but we do not

[1] He has a very curious statement on p. 529 : " the knower must see for himself the truth that he believes." But if one sees for oneself one cannot *believe*

believe that he can be serious in all the hard things he says about the present system of teaching Christian truth in secondary schools. " It does not give our children the reasons they need for holding their fundamental principles. They hold the Faith on authority that is in fact valid, but they lack a grasp of those natural truths that prove the reasonableness of accepting that authority. Thus if challenged by a rationalist argument against the Faith, they can only, with dissatisfaction to themselves and others, oppose its alleged reason by quoting authority " (p. 532). " To be convinced of principles one must be instructed in philosophy " (p. 533), and " the majority of our children leave our schools without reasoned convictions or the means of acquiring them " (p. 535). Surely he is not serious in maintaining that those who have studied Dr. Sheehan's *Apologetics* and Monsignor Cronin's *Social Science* for two years have no reasons to answer rationalist objections with and can only quote authority ; or that they have no convictions in regard to the essential doctrines of salvation nor even the means of acquiring them ?

Fr. Little seems to be unaware that the course in Apologetics deals with the most fundamental questions in the most rational and convincing way. It deals especially with those doctrines which are nowadays singled out for attack by Freethinkers and Rationalists—the divinity of Christ, the authority of the Church, the efficacy of prayer and sacraments. He also seems unaware that there *is* a course in Social Science—the very sociology to which he would give half of his philosophic minimum. In addition there are :—Church History, Liturgy, Scripture and Catholic Action—for the object of those responsible for the course is not merely that boys and girls should know their faith philosophically but that they should love it and live it. That object, we submit, is secured in Ireland at least as well as in those countries—France and Spain being of the number—which according to Fr. Little have philosophy taught in the secondary schools. *Ex fructibus eorum* is a sound principle.

In my opinion, the children of our secondary schools are provided with fundamental truth as well as they can absorb it. They get the substance of Christian philosophy. Fr. Little wants to give them the metaphysical form with the difficulties and objections, and all the crazy errors that have ever been propounded.

Are boys and girls of 16–18 really mature enough in mind for philosophical speculation and Platonic dialogue ? Have they the mental alertness, the experience of life and the interest in metaphysical questions to devote their time to them more profitably than to other subjects ? My own opinion is that they have not. It is significant that the Church does not make philosophy part of the secondary course for clerical students. Either they are not mature enough, or she

thinks their time is better employed otherwise. As it is (Canon 1364), she wishes the secondary course to be devoted to the teaching of religion (not of philosophy, mark you !), of languages and of the other subjects necessary for general culture. Certainly Latin, Greek (or French), English, Irish, Mathematics, Science, History and Geography, Music, Elocution—as well as the subjects included under Religious Instruction —must form part of the secondary course for boys, and the proper function of that course is to do these subjects well. If a boy does them well, he will have little time for metaphysics, but he will have laid a solid foundation for it—if he needs it—later.

A very good case can be made for having philosophy a necessary subject for a university degree in Arts, Medicine and Law, as is the practice in Louvain as well as in Laval. That is a reasonable proposal on which supporters of Scholastic Philosophy might unite and gain very wide adherence. ✠ Michael Browne

NO. 2 :—BY ALFRED O'RAHILLY

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I myself regard as my greatest educational privilege the opportunity of doing a three years' course of philosophy after my graduation in science. So naturally I am very sympathetic with Father Little's timely article.

I am however rather doubtful about the advisability of introducing philosophy into the secondary schools, which are even now complaining of an overloaded curriculum. There are several reasons for my doubt. In the first place, we must first make sure that we have the required supply of competent teachers. It is easy to teach philosophy in a dry abstract way and to take refuge from real difficulties in mere jargon. I have myself seen how difficult it is to enlist the interest of clerical students in ontology and epistemology, and I have known cosmology to be taught by people without any grasp of present-day science. I see no evidence that we are equipped to present philosophy with a living appeal to ordinary lay folk. In the next place, it is not a sound pedagogical principle to teach subjects to those who are not yet mature enough to grasp them, to deal with difficulties which fail to be appreciated because they have not yet become real or relevant. For example, schoolboys are usually bored stiff with abstract disquisitions on evolution ; a year or so later, when they have become medical students, they are badly in need of such lectures and would appreciate them.

But if the term ' philosophy ' is changed into ' apologetics '—

living positive apologetics which also includes social principles—I am in entire agreement with Father Little as regards our schools. Not much can be done in the primary schools, though there is probably room for improvement in catechetical methods. (Why not hold summer courses for the teachers of religion in both primary and secondary schools ?). The primary course would have to be supplemented not only in vocational schools but by adult courses. In the secondary schools I understand—I have no direct knowledge—that there has been a much-needed improvement since my time. But is the course positive enough, does it include some sociology, has it a status at least equal to that of secular subjects ?

As regards the university, I am in complete agreement with Father Little. Here in Cork we have made some little headway. We have started a course in sociology—the papal encyclicals are for the first time prescribed as official texts. It is obligatory for students in commerce. It may be capable of extension so that all our students during their course may learn something about the living issues—family, state, communism, fascism and so on—which they read about in newspapers and see in the cinema. Our Extension Lectures are attended by outsiders as well as by students. This year there has been another experimental innovation—the introduction of the " elements of psychology, ethics and sociology " into the pre-medical year. It comes a bit early in the course, but it is the only place where it could be fitted. (I am told some of the parents resent it ; their little darlings must not be diverted from bread-and-butter subjects !). A great and glaring defect is the absence of medical ethics from the medical curriculum. By this I mean medical ethics as a university subject, with a status equal to that of medical jurisprudence or hygiene, taught in obligatory lectures by a professor or lecturer who is a full member of the medical faculty. Anything short of this is a hole-and-corner makeshift. A few years ago I circulated a memorandum on the subject to all the Bishops ; but nothing has happened. The subject is the more urgent as—whether we like it or not—most of our medical graduates practise in England.

As regards philosophy in general, its main function in the university at present appears to be that of a propaedeutic to theology for clerical students. I do not think that we appreciate its vital importance and its adaptation to lay students. Most of these, having to concentrate on other subjects, could not manage more than a first year's course in philosophy ; they might manage a shorter course (equivalent to one subsidiary or pass subject) in the second and third years. But I wish to emphasise that it must be adapted to their needs and future life and that it should be encouraged by special facilities and prizes.

I confine my remarks chiefly to the university, because our main

need is to imbue future leaders with a rational basis for their faith, with a thought-out appreciation of the Catholic outlook on life. In my opinion, our present position is exceedingly perilous owing to the absence of a well-trained élite among the laity. Nowhere so much as in Ireland is the betrayal of the intellectuals (*la trahison des clercs !*) so thoroughly exemplified—in literature, in economics, in sociology, sometimes even in politics. And we are so smug about it, so blindly unconscious of our enslavement to British and Protestant thought. So ignorant are we of this deficiency that we think it will be remedied merely by translating it into Irish. Any aggressive Catholic is sure to be smiled upon as almost sub-human—well, at any rate, as medievally out-of-date—by our intellectual bigwigs. Hitherto we have got away with it, because we have managed to live on the capital of our Catholic heritage and because we have not yet had to face real dangers. Could we stand up to the test which German, Austrian and Spanish Catholics are undergoing ? How long are we going to allow our ideas to be largely inspired by Protestant Liberalism, the British Labour Party, the Hollywood Jews ? Father Little has pointed out the danger and the remedy.

ALFRED O'RAHILLY

NO. 3.—BY REV. EDWARD LEEN, C.S.SP., M.A., D.D.
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THE actuality of this topic is indisputable. It is not treated for the first time in the foregoing article ; for some fifteen years ago, to date, a powerful plea was made for the inclusion of the elements of Scholastic philosophy in the curriculum of our secondary schools. In two articles written by Father Denis Fahy, C.S.Sp. for the *Irish Ecclesiastical Record* in the year 1923, arguments of a very convincing nature were adduced to prove the urgent need of equipping Irish students with some philosophical formation before they could quit the secondary schools to pursue a university course or to take up professional studies or to embark directly on a career. The articles, perhaps, attracted little attention at the time. Most probably most of those who read them judged the notion to be rather Utopian and the discussion of it to be purely academic. Only the few, and those intimately connected with the work in secondary schools and keenly analytic of the results of that work as a training for life, could realise how vital was the need for a drastic change in received practice in this matter. It is consoling to find proof of the belief that ideas are never thrown out in vain. Events have moved with bewildering rapidity in the last decade of years, and actual happenings bring home to those

interested in education the pressing necessity of what seemed a relatively short time ago but a mere velleity.

A man may have a 'living' and yet not have learned to live. Education or, to speak more accurately, 'schooling' was thought by those chiefly concerned with its results to have achieved its purpose satisfactorily if it paved the way for a livelihood. Yet a livelihood does no more than leave a man free to exercise the art of living. It is this art that education should impart. And it must not be considered that the imparting of it impedes the attainment of what must be a necessary preoccupation on the part of the parent and teacher; that is, the preparation of the student for a definite career.

To train a person for life is to train him to think, and not to think anyhow, but think rightly. If a young man has 'learned" enough to pass a qualifying examination successfully and, by so doing, gains a post which secures him a livelihood, and enters on the enjoyment of that livelihood with a mind in a state of confusion and disarray, his future is bound to prove a failure. He does not know how 'to live.' He will find himself at the mercy of every plausible theory of life that will offer itself to his mind through the numerous lines of communication that modern life has created.

It would be a dangerous illusion to hold that in Ireland, where the faith is widely practised and creates an atmosphere which exerts a strong if subtle influence on the ways of thought of our people, that there is scarcely any need of a formal inculcation of philosophy in our schools. It is easily assumed that the faith furnishes unaided a sane philosophy of life. Facts of increasing number prove the groundlessness of this assumption. It is exasperating for those who see into the heart of things and ever and again raise their voices in warning to be met with the smug statement: "Oh! that will not happen in Ireland." Things that happen elsewhere can take place here at home. We are not immune from the darkness of understanding and the fatal bias of the will towards evil that are the sad heritage of all the nations of men. Unless our faith rests on a firm basis of a sound philosophy of right living, it will manifest a bewildering weakness when the time of testing comes—as come it must. To be steadfast in the time of trial it is not enough to possess the faith, one must have been trained to "think one's faith." That is a thing which few of our people have learned to do.

A common phenomenon of our life is to find an assiduous practice of religion coexist with ideas on problems specifically human that are at variance with the theory of human life that the faith implies. Very often with typical products of our schools, both boys and girls, it is not the faith they profess, but the erroneous notions which find easy access to their untrained minds, that give to their secular activities

the character they bear. Religion comes easily to be with them a church affair, a thing of devotions and pious practices, not a regulative principle of human life. How few there are who really judge that religion is the only force that can truly humanise life.

Father Little rightly discredits the view that the average person is not apt for philosophy. The truth is that all, unconsciously, do philosophise and regulate their actions accordingly. What is thought out by the thinker in his library reaches the multitude in numberless ways, many of them imperceptible. Through novel and picture and newspaper, through slogans and through catchcries a philosophy of life seeps into the minds of men. Unhappily, it is not a sound but a corrupt philosophy that commands the manifold instruments of popularising ideas. We, as a people, are peculiarly exposed to infection because of the lack in our educational system, secondary and university, of the only antidote to this subtle poison. That antidote is the teaching in our schools of a sound philosophy.

A country will prove ineffective in the main business of human life unless it has an élite of thinkers and thinkers who think rightly. The formation of that élite, who will ultimately mould the mind of the nation, must be the task of the secondary schools. There may be a difference of opinion as to the programme and the methods to be adopted, but amongst those who are alive to the issues involved there can be no doubt as to the need of including Logic, Psychology, Ethics and the elements of Criteriology in our secondary programmes.

Edward Leen

NO. 4.—BY MICHAEL TIERNEY

Professor of Greek, University College, Dublin
Member of Seanad Éireann

The combination of pedant and sceptic in me makes me just a little doubtful about some of the more optimistic of Father Little's generalisations. When, for instance, he says that " an acquaintance with philosophy has always characterised our people ; the ideal Irishman is a philosopher," and goes on to refer to " the renowned line of Irish medieval Scholastics " and to the teaching of philosophy in the Hedge Schools, I am tempted to demand more substantial evidence than he offers. It is true that St. Thomas was taught by a certain Petrus de Hibernia and that in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries the Irish Franciscans were great students of Duns Scotus, but I think it is safe enough to say that on the whole the Irish were renowned more for logomachy than for logic, and that the French wit who wrote

" Vidi avidos vultus et mentem pasta chimaeris
Spectra Hibernorum turmatim invadere portas "

was not doing them an entirely scandalous injustice. Even for the layman or the lay child, humility, both national and personal, is an indispensable preparation for philosophy. We need a revision of our self-estimation in more ways than one.

Having thus begun with a certain deprecatory emphasis, I hasten to express my entire approval and support for Father Little's main contention, and my earnest hope that our authorities, both secular and ecclesiastical, will take practical steps to deal with the profound and extremely serious problem which he has opportunely raised. It is entirely true, as he says, that no one knows what we are trying to make of our children; but I am glad to record my conviction that the number among us who think that someone else does is gradually growing less. We do seem to be approaching the end of the long dominance of materialism, which has almost succeeded in making entire havoc of our education. Unfortunately the slow discovery of our spiritual plight brings with it a twofold danger. We may on the one hand fail to rid ourselves soon enough or thoroughly enough of the materialist legacy, with its conversion of education into a machinery for getting boys and girls into jobs, and the shoddy edifice of commercial, technical, and pseudo-professional "courses" which it has erected on the ruins of our once proud European or native Gaelic culture. The poison may have entered so deeply into our intellectual and spiritual system that there is no fate left for us except to rot of it. On the other hand, the reaction from materialism that is certainly coming may not take us back to the high ground of traditional culture, but only further into the same morass by another path—the path of some horrible anti-intellectual mysticism like the Rosenberg myth of blood and soil or the Marxian myth of the proletariat.

The key to the reform of our education is the restoration of philosophy to its rightful place, and unless we succeed in so doing we are lost. Our danger is no mere academic hypothesis, no phantasy of an overheated professorial cerebellum. It is upon us here and now. The great heresies of the last three hundred years, the aberrations which have led inevitably to all our present evils, from the squalor of the slums to the devilry of nationalised warfare, were essentially educational heresies. It is a grotesque mistake, induced by their very success, to imagine that they won their way by the mechanical force of change and progress. Every one of them had its prophet, from Descartes and Locke down through Rousseau and Hegel, Marx and Nietzsche, and their English counterparts such as Bentham and Mill; and these prophets were one after the other, in one disguise or another, triumphantly installed in the universities and schools of Europe. Their teachings have made their way into every branch of science and literature; they poisoned poetry for a century or more before

it died of them; they have crippled and perverted all the arts, and have become as essential to the modern mind as the air is to the body. How many of us, without knowing it, were brought up as little Romantics, little Darwinians, unconscious little disciples of Rousseau? How far has the theory of Bentham, Austin, and Mill entered into the legal system by which our lives are more and more regulated? How much of Marx and Sorel have our politicians imbibed without ever having read a line of either? Our newspapers (and here again Father Little is surely too optimistic in specifying only those imported from abroad) are so many channels carrying the germs of intellectual and moral diseases on a flood of indifferent rubbish into every home they enter.

The restoration of philosophy not merely ought to, but must, imply an educational revolution. We must have first a clear consciousness on the part of our directors of the evils which are ruining the civilised world, and secondly a determination to use our schools and universities in order to end these evils and put good in their place. We must cease to accept the rampant materialism of our times with the complacency with which even Catholics have too often accepted it as natural and inevitable so far. The heart and centre of that materialism is the almost universal modern dogma that education is to fit men for jobs. Owing to our peculiar history we in Ireland, for all our Catholicity, suffer from that uncivilised delusion almost more than other countries. If we could give philosophy back its old dignity as the crown of education, we should have taken the most effective step to dispel it. But let us not imagine that the thing will be easy to do. It will have the whole weight of uncomprehending philistinism, trained for over a century in the belief that money values are the highest values, to struggle against and overcome.

Father Little has concentrated his attack entirely on the schools. Here I feel that there is a danger to be avoided right at the beginning. No doubt it is, as he says, possible and highly desirable that boys of from sixteen to eighteen years should be given a grounding in the elements of philosophy. How difficult and far-reaching a policy this would be, however, even Father Little's advocacy itself makes clear. It would require a sweeping change in the whole school curriculum, and for any real success would need to be both very thorough and entirely free from the rigours of the traditional scholastic presentation. A course in philosophy organised for purposes of mere window-dressing would be worse than useless, and the traditional methods would prove unworkable with such young pupils in such numbers. Would it not be well, for a beginning at least, to go a little slowly with the schools and concentrate on the institutions which have been always the homes of philosophy—the universities? I hope sincerely that Father Little

has not been influenced by recent pronouncements in high places into accepting silently what I, for one, regard as a most dangerous educational heresy—the view that the schools should aim at giving a complete general education, leaving the universities entirely for professional training. To my mind such a reform as he desiderates would far more appropriately begin in the universities, where complete courses in philosophy could be given, and from there penetrate down to the schools. It would be a most salutary reform to make philosophy an essential preliminary, at the university stage, to all professional studies, and time for it might well be found by eliminating from our university curricula some of the useless pseudo-professional and other courses with which they are now encumbered. The reform might mean the lengthening of the university period, but in the National University, at any rate, the period is now admittedly too short. The full value of a real philosophical training can only be given at the university age, from eighteen to twenty-two or thereabouts. If we could ensure as a first step that all our lawyers, doctors, economists, scientists, teachers, and last but not least, journalists and politicians, were well grounded in the essentials of the best Christian and Hellenic thought, we should have gone far, in our own country at least, to stop the rot of materialism which is the real enemy of us all.

Perhaps it is not entirely safe to argue from what is done in other countries to what can be done in Ireland, especially in educational matters. Whether it be due to history or climate or some racial predisposition, I have a belief, founded on some experience, that Irish youth matures more slowly than the youth of other European nations—certainly than that of France. This again is an argument for going more slowly with philosophy in our schools. As a substitute I would rashly suggest that much could be done to make religion, and especially divine worship, a more vital and central *cultural* influence than it always is at present. One of the most awful and least felt consequences of modern heresy has been the slow decay of worship, with its corollary the self-deification of humanity. Much of our education might be acquired from the systematic study of the Liturgy, the Latin of the Missal, and the history and meaning of the Mass—surely the highest and greatest among all the works of literary genius—from the Greek of the New Testament and the Fathers, the history of the Church and the intellectual appreciation of its doctrines. There could be no better introduction, not only to philosophy in the technical sense, but to life itself.

It is in the universities that philosophy should come to finish the intellectual formation of those most fitted to profit by it. I cannot conclude without adverting to the rather saddening fact, which surely calls for explanation, that whereas under the Royal University, before

1909, philosophy attracted the most brilliant laymen as students, there has been a notable falling-off in their numbers since that date, and the great final generation of lay philosophers turned out by the Royal have had few successors and hardly any of these their equals. Is this a sign that materialism in the post-war world has increased rather than diminished? MICHAEL TIERNEY

NO. 5.—BY REV. FR. JAMES, O.M.CAP., M.A., D.LITT.
Professor of Philosophy, University College, Cork

ST. THOMAS would have us begin philosophy with Logic, not because it is the easiest thing to learn, but because it furnishes the mind with the instruments needed for the discovery and proof of truth. Logic deals with the activities of reason, and reason is the source of science. All science is knowledge, but not all that goes by the name of knowledge is science. Slight acquaintance with students who come up to the University convinces me that they would be the better for a proper sense of the deficiencies of what passes for knowledge in every-day life: its dogmatism without evidence, its vagueness and lack of precision, its unsystematic and self-contradictory character. That a number of sciences exist they know; what precisely differentiates one science from another they do not seem to realise. Because they are children of their age they have a vague suspicion that what is not directly amenable to observation and experiment is not science at all but some form of idle speculation. People will talk of the sciences *and* philosophy, as if philosophy were not science at all. A course in Logic that would indicate the laws of ordered thinking, that would clear up their minds on the meaning and classification of the sciences, that would give them some appreciation of what true science involves could have but one effect, the strengthening of reason which will be the instrument of all their future thinking. If it is possible to train their minds by means of Mathematics, it should not be impossible to tell them in what the training of the mind consists.

After Logic the next important subject, in my opinion, is what St. Thomas would call "the science of what things are to be desired and what things are to be done." Arrived at the use of reason, a youth takes up a fundamental attitude that must determine the pattern of his life. He accepts a moral code upon authority; but if he is scientifically-minded at all, he cannot for long accept an authoritarian settlement of his intimate problems of right and wrong. The acceptance of Christianity, we know, does not involve the abnegation of one's reason, and Christian convictions have all to gain and nothing to lose from the establishment of ethical principles on rational grounds.

The consciousness that the principles by which he is expected to live are scientific in the best sense, that they are simply the application to the art of living of principles that are the very laws of life, must help the growing boy to realise at a critical period in his life that the Decalogue is the command of the same God who made human nature and lighted the torch of reason. He who has a fair grasp of ethical principles will not easily be impressed by ideologies that insult not only his reason but his innate sense of personal dignity as well.

I do think, however, that such a course of Ethics should be completed by elementary lessons in Psychology. Besides being a subject of intense interest for him, Psychology would give him a sense of his intimate structure and make-up; it would help him to distinguish the levels of his life and give him a true sense of the material and the spiritual; it would help him clearly to distinguish the senses and the intellect and spare him some worry about that blessed word, Evolution, which forms the perennial subject of undergraduate debates.

To conclude, I think that we might safely leave the course of Apologetics as it stands to the wise guidance of the Church. Other issues are involved here to which Father Little possibly does not advert. He does make a plea for philosophy from the side of the Faith; I approach it rather from the side of knowledge. No one is more vividly conscious, I hope, than I am of the exalted spiritual destiny of our country. Ireland should not only live the Faith but should also find a worthy intellectual expression of it. That she cannot do without philosophy. But philosophy is a method before it is a result, and what I should expect from an elementary course of philosophy in Secondary Schools is the consciousness that a true synthesis of knowledge exists which harmonises the data of reason and faith. With such a consciousness those who come up to the University may be inspired to ask for that doctrinal content which can be adequately imparted only at this stage. As I view it, the primary duty of the University is to give its students a true system of integration without which it will continue to pour out parrots, specialists, and technicians, but not really educated citizens. Perhaps the demand in this instance would create the supply?

FATHER JAMES, O.M.CAP.

NO. 6.—BY T. W. T. DILLON

Professor of Materia Medica and Therapeutics, University College, Dublin

THE case for the introduction of Philosophy into Irish schools is, in my view, very strong. But I must leave it to others, with better information on the school programmes, to deal with the possibility and opportunity of its inclusion under existing circumstances. I

can only speak from experience on the question of its importance to the medical profession. Here the case in favour of philosophical instruction is really overwhelming, and grave results are inevitable if some steps are not taken to provide it. The medical student of twenty years ago was introduced in rapid succession to all the theories which, in the latter half of the nineteenth century, had been used by the various heresies to combat Christian rationalism. Darwinism, Materialism, Naturalism and, more subtle still, the continuous depreciation of teleology as an explanation of any natural phenomenon; they were all implicit, if not explicit, in the textbooks which we so conscientiously devoured.

Have things changed since that time? There is probably, in the advanced textbooks read by senior students studying for degrees in science, some modification of the grossly mechanistic view which prevailed, even in biological subjects, twenty years ago. The writings of Haldane, Driesch, Von Vexhüll, and Bergson have filtered into the footnotes of the handbooks. But insofar as there has been any modification of naive mechanistic materialism, it has not been to the advantage of those who believe that God created the world and the various creatures after their kinds. The tendency is rather towards a pantheistic naturalism than a Christian rationalism. Buddha rather than St. Thomas enjoys the favour of the biologists. Aldous Huxley's book *Ends and Means* is a good example of this tendency; and in a recent history of Biochemical Embryology the greatest authority on the subject devoted part of his introduction to a reasoned efford to confute traditional Christian philosophy.

But, it may be said, surely the Professors can correct this false picture in their lectures. Can they? I can only answer for myself. In twelve months a mass of facts and principles—the groundwork, the detailed structure, and the practical application of a complex science—must be exposed in a series of lectures. The professor and, much more, the students are on a stretch from the year's beginning to its close. It is indeed possible to point out here and there the importance of a recognition of ends in the economy of the human and animal organisms. But since the teleological method—as Maritain has pointed out in *Science et Sagesse*—has no formal place in Experimental Science, the facts and laws of physical and biological Sciences must always be dressed out in mechanical or mathematical symbols. Then again, philosophical considerations have no practical use in a course hag-ridden with examinations. Extern examiners will not stop to argue the pros and cons of proximate and ultimate ends; they want to know what causes what.

There are indeed many other urgent reasons—more urgent now than ever before—for a good philosophical ground work, which I can

only glance at in the space available. For instance, the new medical psychology is apparently thought to be so subversive of Catholic doctrine that our medical schools have met the difficulty by omitting all consideration of it from their programmes. Yet the main result is to give the student the impression that the body is all important and the soul a mere inefficient appendage or emanation. We study in detail the anatomy, physiology, and pharmacology of the normal brain; of the mind's faculties not a word. The only contact our students make with psychology is in the asylums for the insane. Yet the modern psychologies are found to be, when sifted by good scholastics, not so subversive after all. Brennan and Dalbiez have both carried out such an examination; they found no difficulty in separating the chaff from the grain.

Finally, without logic there can be no scientific medicine; without ethics no certainty that our young doctors will not fall victims to the many specious panaceas which are spreading so rapidly in foreign countries. From a biological point of view the case of sterilization, birth control, and euthanasia is very strong; it can only be met by a full rational statement of man's peculiar dignity amongst God's creatures.

We must then have philosophy, and have it soon, or we shall incur a heavy responsibility for the souls of the young doctors and scientists whom we are sending unprepared into a world of intellectual temptations.

T. W. T. Dillon

MARIA EDGEWORTH'S IRISH NOVELS

BY ROGER MCHUGH, M.A.

MUCH has been written about Maria Edgeworth, and it is not the purpose of this article to do more than to consider the particular aspect of her work presented by the four novels which caused Scott,[1] Ruskin,[2] Lecky,[3] Turgenev,[4] and others to praise her as a portrayer of Irish life. Since the middle of the last century there has been another view; that she was an Ascendancy writer who got little nearer to the Irish peasantry than the threshold of the Big House at Edgeworthstown from which she observed them. The clash of these opinions, which both contain truth and which are not irreconcilable, has hindered a critical appreciation of her literary achievement and of its relation to herself and to Ireland.

I

The exact origins of the Edgeworth family are dim, and beyond the fact that it came from Edgeware, Middlesex, and was of some importance in England during the reign of Henry VIII, not a great deal is known. Its connection with Ireland began with the arrival of two brothers here in the later sixteenth century. These were Edward Edgeworth, who became bishop of Down and Connor, and Francis Edgeworth, who eventually settled on the estate of 600 acres which he got from James I and which is still known as Edgeworthstown. By the end of the seventeenth century, his descendants were rich and powerful squires. Some of them were careful managers of their land, others of the reckless and hard-drinking kind found in *Castle Rackrent*. The family records, summarized in *The Black Book of Edgeworthstown*,[5] make interesting reading. They contain such contrasting figures as 'Protestant

[1] See Section V.
[2] Anne Thackeray Ritchie in introduction to *Castle Rackrent* and *The Absentee*, London 1903. [3] Quoted by Lockhart.
[4] Ernest Baker in *History of the English Novel*, vol. VI. [5] ed. Butler. London 1927.

Frank,' Maria Edgeworth's great grandfather, an eighteenth-century Craigavon, and the Abbé Edgeworth, the Catholic priest who ministered to Louis XVI before his execution. A detailed account will also be found there of Richard Lovell Edgeworth, Maria's unusual father. Richard was a member of the Irish Parliament, a man of science and of letters, a builder, an engineer, a carriage-maker, a semaphore-designer, a farmer, a magistrate, an author. He seems to have managed his large Longford estate efficiently and without enforcing many of the legal injustices which caused peasant risings elsewhere. It was to help her father with his accounts that Maria, his eldest daughter who was born in England in 1767, arrived at the age of fifteen in Ireland, which she had previously visited only once, when she was seven or eight years old.

It was Richard Edgeworth's special interest in education, not unexpected in a man who married four times and had a score of children, which led to her becoming a writer. Richard, friend of Ricardo, Bentham, and Thomas Day, had drunk deeply of their theories, had mixed them with dangerous quantities of Marmontel, and was ready for an educational explosion. And there, all unconscious of their doom, were the little victims, Maria's little step-brothers and step-sisters. About 1791 she began to note down anecdotes of the children under her care and to write out her father's conversation-lessons. Next she tried her hand at children's stories, which she submitted to her large and critical audience, altering them or scrapping them in accordance with the verdict. Most of those which survived will be found in *The Parents' Assistant* (1796-1800). Before this work finally appeared, Maria had written *Letters to Literary Ladies* (1795), a defence of women's education ; and had collaborated with her father in *Practical Education* (1798) which was published over both their names.

These works are mentioned to give some idea of the beginnings of that didactic strain in Maria Edgeworth's novels which was later to cause a good deal of controversy about how far the didactic Richard blighted the artistic Maria. It is easy to follow Saintsbury's lead and to condemn the

former summarily as a crotcheteer and nuisance; the many women[1] who have written about Miss Edgeworth have done so with a sort of suffragist vehemence which has spoiled their good case. "Vraiment Miss Edgeworth est digne de l'enthousiasme, mais elle se perd dans votre triste utilité." Madame de Stael's reported remark was made to a prominent Benthamite, but it might have been spoken directly at Richard. Certainly his influence over his daughter was strong. 'Continue, my dear daughter, the desire which you feel of becoming amiable, prudent, and of *USE*,' says one of his early letters to her. The emphasis is on 'use,' but the evidence is that she would have so emphasized it herself. The taste of the time and of her father, and the current of ethical, economic, and humanitarian thought which the French Revolution set flowing in English literature, had much to say to this, but it is probable that her own experience as a teacher had even more, and that her didactism continued a matter of choice. Her reply to Mrs. Inchbald's criticism of *Patronage*—'Please recollect we had our moral to work out'—was typical. In many ways this was a pity, but it had this benefit; it gave her a consciousness of the duties and rights inherent in any social system. True, this is implied rather than stated in the works of the great novelists, but its existence in any form had a special significance for any nineteenth-century author who set out to write about Ireland.

II

Castle Rackrent, Maria Edgeworth's first Irish novel, was peculiar in that it was not directly didactic. Its author's description of how it was created partly explains this; she tells of an old steward whom she used as 'copy' for Thady, the old steward who narrates the history of the Rackrent estate. "I heard him when I first came to Ireland, and his dialect struck me, and his character; and I became so acquainted with it that I could think and speak in it without an effort; so that when, for mere amusement, without any

[1] Notably Miss Lawless and Miss Zimmern.

idea of publishing, I began to write a family history as Thady would tell it, he seemed to stand beside me and dictate; and I wrote as fast as my pen would go." This accounts for the book's spontaneity. As a chronicle of the Irish squirearchy of the eighteenth century, it is excellent. Old Thady's story is longwinded enough, and the Rackrents whom he tells about are rather jerkily drawn, but this is in character and is easily forgiven.

Ernest Baker has stated that *Castle Rackrent* is probably the first novel to give a history of a family through several generations and to convey the impression of a long lapse of time.[1] Thady's description of the decline and fall of the house of Rackrent is really an account of the careers of four successive squires, each representing a type belonging to an age when the gentry were made irresponsible and their peasantry miserable by the same social conditions. The first of them is Sir Patrick Rackrent, extravagant, good-natured, drunken. "A monument of old Irish hospitality," says his epitaph. Doctor Krans has observed that it might have served for half the squires of the period.[2] After Sir Patrick comes Sir Murtagh, skinflint and miser, who knows the law and uses it to grind the last penny out of his tenants. "He used to boast that he had a lawsuit for every letter in the alphabet," says Thady: "His heriots and duty-work brought him in something, his turf was cut, his potatoes set and dug, his hay brought home, and, in short, all the work about his house done for nothing; for in all our leases there were clauses heavy with penalties, which Sir Murtagh knew well to enforce; so many day's duty-work of man and horse, from every tenant, he was to have, and had, every year . . . . he taught 'em all, as he said, to know the law of landlord and tenant." Sir Murtagh's wife makes the most of the fear which his lawsuits put into the tenants, and extracts 'presents' of fowl, eggs, honey from them. "As for their young pigs, we had them, and the best bacon and hams they could make up, with all young chickens in spring; but they were a set of

[1] *The History of the English Novel.* Vol. VI.
[2] *Irish Life in Irish Fiction.* Horatio Sheafe Krans. Columbia University Press.

poor wretches, and we had nothing but misfortunes with them, always breaking and running away." Sir Murtagh's lawsuits prove expensive, and before he dies he has to sell some of the Rackrent estate to defray costs. "But he was a very learned man in the law," adds Thady apologetically, "and I knew nothing of the matter, except having a great regard for the family."

Thady's pathetic and muddleheaded regard for a family thoroughly undeserving of it gives his story sustained irony. Sir Kit Rackrent, Sir Murtagh's spendthrift successor, "left all to the agent; and though he had the spirit of a prince and lived away to the honour of his country abroad, which I was proud to hear of, what were we the better for that at home?" Sir Kit is only interested in the estate as a means of enabling him to cut a dash in the marriage-market of London. He marries a Jewish wife for money, brings her to live at Castle Rackrent where he keeps her hidden away, takes to entertaining lavishly, and adds to the network of debts which already wrap the estate round. Eventually he is killed in a duel, his wife goes back to England, and the fourth Rackrent landlord arrives.

Sir Condy, last man of straw upon the camel's back, is another Sir Patrick. Mixed with his drunken profligacy is a streak of good-nature, but he is heavily in debt before he arrives and has not the ability to reform anything. He hates all business and leaves the management of the estate to the hard-headed Jason, Thady's son, who had become agent to his predecessor and immediately set about getting his hooks into the land. In this he is now helped by his new master's folly and by his own knowledge of the law. The Rackrent estate hastens to its end, "just as you see the ducks in the chicken-yard, just after their heads are cut off by the cook, running round faster and faster than when alive." Sir Condy's resources dwindle, his wife's money goes. He rallies enough to become a member of the Irish Parliament, supports the government 'against his conscience very honourably,' but fails to profit by it through sheer incompetence. His wife sees the crash coming and gets a separation,

Sir Condy is alone in the decaying castle, except for Thady, when the whirlwind of bills and execution-orders comes down. He staves off reality with drink. Jason plays him skilfully, using whiskey-punch at the correct psychological moment, and Castle Rackrent passes from the last of the Rackrents to the crafty middleman. Sir Condy, symbolically enough, drains the huge drinking-horn of Sir Patrick and falls into his last illness. Old Thady, still 'following the fortunes of them that have none left,' watches by his bedside :—

'No,' says he, 'nothing will do me good no more,' and he gave a terrible screech with the torture he was in—then again a minute's ease—'brought to this by drink,' says he; 'where are all the friends? Where's Judy? Gone, hey? Ay, Sir Condy has been a fool all his days,' said he; and there was the last word he spoke, and died.

III

During the years which passed between the publication of *Castle Rackrent* and that of *Ennui* and *The Absentee*, Maria Edgeworth had made her name as a didactic writer. *Castle Rackrent* had been well received in England and in France and a German translation had appeared. But *la triste utilité* had her in thrall, and the shaping of moral stories preoccupied her. *Belinda* and *Moral Tales* were published in 1801, *Popular Tales* in 1804. About this time she began *Tales of Fashionable Life*, which consisted of four stories and the longer *Ennui*,[1] all pointing a moral. The second series of these tales included *The Absentee*.

These two Irish novels, *Ennui* and *The Absentee*, had a similar aim, the indictment of Irish absentee-landlords. *Ennui* started by being directed against the polite and fashionable complaint of boredom which sent many Anglo-Irish landlords rattling around the continent while their tenantry starved at home; but once the indolent young Lord Glenthorn arrives, as a last resort, on his own Irish estate, the evils of absenteeism become its main theme. Glenthorn interests himself in his tenantry, and two contrasting agents are brought on the scene to illustrate right and wrong methods of treating them.

[1] Omitted from Saintsbury's list of her Irish novels.

Hardcastle and M'Leod are really stock figures, the Good Child and the Bad Child of her children's stories such as *Lazy Laurence* and *Simple Susan*, now grown up and made into agents. Hardcastle believes, as many a landlord really did believe, that the peasants' proper lot was slavery and ignorance; M'Leod, in whom we detect the lineaments of Richard Lovell Edgeworth, is full of schemes for their instruction and improvement. The plot which sets them in motion is feeble enough. Lord Glenthorn discovers that the real heir to the estate which he is industriously attempting to improve is the humble Christy Mahon, one of his tenants. "Say nothing to nobody, but just keep asy on, even as we are," says Christy when Glenthorn tells him; "none need niver be the wiser; 'tis so best for all. A good day to your honour, and I'll go shoe the mare." However, the noble Glenthorn insists. He assembles the tenantry, to whom he points out that "I voluntarily gave up the fortune I enjoyed the moment I discovered it was not justly mine," and departs for England, home and hard work as a barrister. "The enchantment of indolence was dissolved, and the demon of ennui was cast out for ever." Yes, but it is doubtful whether Glenthorn's first condition of ennui is not infinitely preferable to his final complacency and its attendant rewards. For everything comes just too right: Glenthorn takes law and love in his stride, and the novel ends with an appeal from Christy, whose muddled management has brought the estate near disaster, to return once more to rule over a grateful peasantry.

The whole story, as a story, is greatly hampered by its original moral. When the hero keeps breaking off his narrative every few pages to mention that he is no longer bored with life and when the novelist echoes him at the end of every chapter, boredom becomes the lot of the reader. Another flaw is that lack of dramatic power which is so frequent a defect of these novels and which Richard Lovell Edgeworth, despite all that has been said against him, appears to have tried to rectify. "I lost a mere trifle—ten thousand pounds," says Glenthorn of his gaming. At such moments the back-

cloth suddenly drops, and there is the industrious little spinster in full view of the audience, holding up the property bag of gold. The capture of the ' desperate defenders ' is probably the tamest thing in the book. But there are some good descriptions, as where Glenthorn arrives at his castle in feudal state ; and some fairly good satire, in the manner of Fanny Burney, on English notions about Ireland and on the manners of polite society.

> ' To whatever lengths flirtations and gallantry may go between unmarried or married people, I must look on. I may shut my eyes, if I please, and look down ; but not from shame—from affectation I may as often as I please, or to show my lashes . . . . I must learn to call an intrigue *an arrangement*, and a crim. con. *an affair in Doctor's Commons*. How virtuous we shall be when we have no name for vice ! '

Thus Lady Geraldine, who has something of the charm which Scott and others observed in the novelist herself.

The Absentee is a much better novel. The story is prolix in places, but it is wittier and more dramatic, and its moralizing is less insistent. This is probably due to the way in which it came to be written. First it was written as a play for reading aloud to ' our present large juvenile audience.' Richard sent it to Sheridan, but failed to get him to produce it. Maria was then working on *Patronage*, but on her father's advice she set about turning the play into a novel. This was done in some haste, which was probably to its advantage.

The effects of absenteeism upon Irish landlords after the Union are exemplified in the Clonbrony family. Lord Clonbrony is good-natured, but he is under his wife's thumb. Her social climbing in English society makes her a joke among the polite people who go to her receptions, eat and drink their fill, go away, and laugh at her for an upstart. They have reason enough, for at one reception the Clonbrony's London house is got up at great expense to look like an eastern scene that never was on sea or land, with pagodas, Alhambras, seraglios, ottomans, tents, and chalked mozaics. Lord Clonbrony is hard put to it to pay for such follies and has to rely on his agents in Ireland, on Mordicai, a Jewish moneylender,

and on Sir Terence O'Fay, an attempted mixture of Falstaff and Sir Boyle Roche, a boon companion who "desires no better than to encounter, single-witted, all the duns in the United Kingdom."

The Clonbronys' son and heir, Lord Colambre, finds himself out of tune with his parents' effort to marry him off to Miss Broadhurst, a rich heiress. He escapes to Ireland, which he has not seen. He finds Dublin society undergoing a process of transition with the rising middle-classes stepping into the absentees' shoes. He makes a tour of the country and arrives incognito at the Clonbrony estate. There, like Glenthorn, he sees good agent and bad agent at work, and is appalled by the way in which his father's most trusted agent, Nicholas Garraghty, uses his power. Garraghty is skilled in grinding tenants to his own advantage, in getting contracts to make roads at fancy prices, in screwing rents to the highest penny to get rid of tenants who will not buy his favour, in letting land go to rack and ruin before notifying his master that there is no sale for it and buying it up for himself at a song. Here Maria Edgeworth was not inventing, but recording. She took the idea of the Clonbronys from a Tipperary family : the conditions of their estate could have been taken from many parts of Ireland, as could this picture of an Irish 'depressed area' seen by Colambre :—

> . . . . one row of miserable huts, sunk beneath the side of the road, the mud walls crooked in every direction ; some of them opening in wide cracks . . . . the roofs sunk . . . . no chimneys . . . . dunghills before the door, and green standing puddles—squalid children with scarcely rags to cover them . . . . pale women . . . . men with countenances bereft of hope and energy . . . .

Compared with these recordings, the invented parts of the book are lacking in interest. There is something too artificial about the attempts of the adventuress, Lady Dashfort, to marry Colambre to her willing daughter, and the struggles of Colambre to find out whether his beloved, Grace Nugent, is or is not legitimate ('an object which his prudence told him ought to be insurmountable.'). Somehow one knows all along that Lady Dashfort won't and that Grace Nugent

isn't ; the machinery creaks too often for anything else. In some ' dramatic ' scenes it almost collapses, as where Lord Colambre ' with an air of ineffable contempt ' refuses to kick Mordicai downstairs : yet other scenes are genuinely dramatic, and Colambre's sudden revelation of his identity to Nicholas Garraghty, though scarcely deserving Macaulay's comparison of it to Ulysses, is still a fine piece of work. In the end, Colambre not only foils Garraghty and Mordicai but pays off his father's debts, persuades his family to return to Ireland, and marries Grace Nugent—who, of course, turns out to be rich as well as legitimate. This setting aside of romance until all urgent business has been attended to is rather typical. " Miss Edgeworth's Cupid," as Byron remarked, " was always something of a Presbyterian."

Some of the minor characters in this novel have a reality denied to its principals, probably because they escape the deliberate underlining which makes Colambre ' incapable of the meanness of voluntarily listening to a conversation not intended for him to hear ' or Lady Dashfort's daughter drop her mask and become a spiteful gossip as soon as she thinks herself unobserved. Thus Mrs. Rafferty, with her little conservatory and pinery and grapery and aviary and pleasantry and dairy, ' with a grotto full of shells and a hermitage full of earwigs,' is a good type of the transition which Colambre noticed in Dublin ; while in Count O'Halloran will be found a sympathetic picture of that fine type of Irish gentleman which Lever depicted so well in *The Knight of Gwynne.*

IV

By the time that *Ormond* appeared in 1817, Maria Edgeworth was a literary celebrity in the polite circles of England and France. She had met the Abbé Morellet, Madame Récamier, La Harpe, Kosciusko, Byron, Moore ; later Scott and Wordsworth were to visit her at Edgeworthstown. Moore seems to have been alone in his dislike. " Miss Edgeworth, with all her cleverness, is anything but agreeable," says his diary : " The moment anyone begins to speak, off she starts too, seldom more than a sentence behind, and in general

contrives to distance every speaker." It is possible that he resented her rivalry in the London *salons*. Byron was a good deal kinder. "I thought Edgeworth a fine old fellow . . . . active, brisk, and endless. He was seventy, but did not look fifty . . . . he bounced about and talked loud and long. He was not much admired in London. The fact was—everybody cared more about her. She was a nice, little, unassuming 'Jeanie Deans looking body' as we Scotch say . . . . Her conversation was as quiet as herself. One would never have guessed she could write her name; whereas her father talked, not as if he could write nothing else, but as if nothing else was worth writing."[1] This tallies with the impressions of Maria Edgeworth which M. Pictet, George Ticknor, Mrs. S. C. Hall, and Joanna Baillie have recorded.

The year in which *Ormond* was written was the year of Richard's death. Literary partnerships have produced no stranger scene than that of the daughter writing this novel industriously and submitting it to her father for criticism and emendation while he lay on his death-bed surrounded by a sorrowing family.[2]

Ormond is the story of a young man abandoned by his father and raised by two cousins. One is Sir Ulick O'Shane, polished, affable, wily lord of Castle Hermitage, a member of the Irish Parliament (the time is the second half of the eighteenth century) and a born intriguer in politics and finance. The second is Cornelius O'Shane, jovial and generous, though choleric and obstinate, who calls himself 'King Corny' of the Black Isles off the western coast of Ireland. He lives among his own tenantry, who respect his rough justice, hard drinking, and free and easy management. On the Black Isles Ormond, who has read his Fielding, is like to become an Irish Tom Jones. Lady Annaly, to whose daughter Florence Sir Ulick designs to marry his own son Marcus, opportunely counters *Tom Jones* with *Sir Charles Grandison*, for she has interested herself in Ormond's education. Dora, King Corny's

[1] *Diary*, January 19th, 1821.

[2] *Black Book of Edgeworthstown*. Richard seems to have improved the story in some parts, though the long interspersed narrative of Moriarty, which he wrote in full, is a bad mistake.

coquettish daughter, almost undoes the good work of Sir Charles, but Dora is wooed and won by Black Connal, a dashing, handsome, mercenary officer in the French army. Soon afterwards Ormond loses his dearest friend, King Corny, who is killed by a bursting shotgun. At this point he unexpectedly inherits a fortune. He falls in love with Florence Annaly, but is led to believe through a misunderstanding that she loves another. He goes to Paris, where he renews the acquaintance of Dora and her husband ('with his head in Versailles and his heart in a faro bank'), cuts a dash at the court of Louis XV, almost falls a victim to the fair Dora again, is saved by the sight of a ring which recalls King Corny to him, and leaves for London where he is just in time to circumvent Sir Ulick's plot to use his money to save himself from bankruptcy. He returns to Ireland to find that Sir Ulick has died suddenly, meets the Annalys, clears up misunderstandings, and marries Florence. As one might expect, he acquires the Black Isles from Connal and returns to rule over his tenantry.

The novel has many good points. Its story moves faster than *Ennui* or *The Absentee;* it has less melodrama about it, though some of the more intense dialogue is painfully laboured; the working of the characters' minds is more real. The character of King Corny deserves the praise which numerous critics have given it; Maria Edgeworth got closer to understanding the Irish mind here than anywhere else. The book, however, does not deal to any great extent with Irish life. There is some comparison of good and bad landlords,[1] some good satire on both Catholic and Protestant bigotry;[2] but after King Corny's death, half-way through the volume, the characters play their parts almost entirely on the restricted stage of polite society.

A last point of interest about *Ormond* is the typical preface which Richard Lovell Edgeworth dictated before he finally closed his eyes:—

> I have been reprehended by some of the public critics for the notices which I have annexed to my daughter's works. As I do not know the reasons for their reprehension, I cannot submit to their respectable

[1] Exemplified in Sir Herbert Annaly vis-à-vis Sir Ulick O'Shane.
[2] Father Jos. and Mrs. M'Crule.

authority . . . . with the most grateful acknowledgements, I bid you farewell for ever. Richard Lovell Edgeworth. May 31st, 1817.

With her father's death Maria Edgeworth's Irish writings conclude.[1] A letter to her brother, written about 1830, says that she finds it impossible to write about Ireland : 'realities are too strong, party-passions too violent to bear to see or care to look at their faces in the looking-glass.' Remembering Carleton and Lever at this time, one cannot wholly blame her prudence.

V

Maria Edgeworth's literary merits and limitations have been indicated in this survey of her Irish novels, and it remains to examine her claims as a portrayer of distinctively Irish life.

All her Irish novels show clearly that there was a whole world of Irish tradition and Irish feeling of which she knew practically nothing and about which she seems to have cared less. The glossary appended to *Castle Rackrent* and the numerous footnotes in her pages show that her interest in observed Irish characteristics was restricted to their *peculiarity*, and that she had little sympathy with or curiosity about the underlying modes of thought or views of life which made them individual. How much of this was due to her own nature, kindly but not sympathetic, how much to her intelligence, able but not searching, how much to the fact that she was neither born nor reared among the people, and how much to the circumstances in which her placid life passed, it is impossible to define. 'She had not the power to discern the romantic adventurousness and the spiritual bitterness that united to drive the flower of Irish Catholics to continental battlefields,' wrote M. C. Seton,[2] who points out that for two centuries before her time the main line of the Edgeworths had stood for Protestantism and the English connection. 'She wrote of the Celtic Irish with the keen and not unkindly insight that a good mistress possesses into the virtues and

[1] Though *Orlandino*, a "temperance story," was written for *Chambers's Library for Young People* in support of Father Mathew and for the benefit of the Irish Poor Relief Fund in 1847. See Bertha Coolidge Slade's Bibliography of Maria Edgeworth (1937 ; Constable).

[2] Introduction to *Selections from Maria Edgeworth*. Talbot Press, Dublin.

foibles of her servants. For all that gave significance and value to the history of the Irish Celt, for all his heritage from the past, she cared nothing.' This is Stephen Gwynn's view,[1] with which Dr. Krans,[2] who mentions her 'busy contented life upon a conscientiously and carefully-managed estate' as the reason, will be found to agree.

Indeed, it is impossible not to agree with these remarks, however conscious one may be that to have disproved them Maria Edgeworth would have had to be someone else. No doubt she hoped that a change of laws in England and a change of heart in the Anglo-Irish absentees would have produced a prosperous, loyal, and contented Ireland. "When Ireland loses her identity by an union with Great Britain, she will look back with good-humoured complacency on the Sir Kits and Sir Condys of her former existence," says the preface to *Castle Rackrent*, which goes on to assure its readers that "the race of the Rackrents has long been extinct in Ireland." The words were written by Richard, who wanted to avoid treading on the Government's corns in 1800,[3] and they are largely negatived by the rack-renting characters of *Ennui* and *The Absentee*, but his daughter has echoed his sentiments in many ways. In *Ennui* insurrection is called 'epidemic infection,' and the sketch of Joe Kelly the 'united man' is not complimentary, though there is a recognition that the 'desperate wretches called defenders' have some reason for being desperate. So much for her political views. Her social outlook, of course, shared in their limitations, for if there was one thing that her favourite virtue, prudence,[4] preached to the Irish Protestant landlord class in the nineteenth century, it was the necessity of preserving their land from the dispossessed by relying on the British connection. The social reforms which Maria Edgeworth advocated must be seen in relation to this. In *The Absentee*, when the Clonbronys return to Ireland to become resident and improving landlords, the curtain falls upon a happy peasantry crying out to their beloved masters 'Long may you live to rule over us!' Behind

[1] *Today and Tomorrow in Ireland.* [2] *Irish Life in Irish Fiction.*
[3] He voted against the Union, which he desired, because of the methods adopted to pass it. [4] She constantly equates prudence with honour.

this, or behind the wretched attempts of Christy Mahon to run the estate which Glenthorn has handed over to him, are many implications with which the Irish reader will not agree; but there are many others which to her own class appeared not only radical, but revolutionary.

Yet these limitations do not provide the sole basis of criticism of her work on this issue. It is not enough to dismiss the Celt who appears in her pages as 'a droll, disorderly, affectionate, pathetic creature':[1] for one reason because his circumstances live to some extent in her books, showing that he was more than that; secondly, because such characters as Brian and Grace, in *The Absentee*, have a dignity of their own. Again, her picture of the Irish must be seen in relation to those which had previously appeared in England. "It has been my object to describe those persons," wrote Scott of his Highland characters, "not by a caricatured and exaggerated use of their national dialect, but by their habits, manners, and feelings; so as in some distant degree to emulate the admirable Irish portraits drawn by Miss Edgeworth; so different from the 'Teagues' and 'dear joys' who so long, with the most perfect family resemblance to each other, occupied the drama and the novel."[2] In a letter to the novelist herself he says: "You have a merit, transcendent in my eyes, of raising your national character in the scale of public estimation."[3] We cannot dismiss these tributes. We may, if we please, turn on Scott and start defining *his* limitations, but when that is over it is still certain that Maria Edgeworth had used the 'national' element in the novel in a better way than her predecessors, and had used her didactic pen to champion to some extent the rights of the Irish people. In conclusion, it is worth while reflecting that when Sheridan sent back the dramatic version of *The Absentee*, the chief reason which he gave for rejecting it was that the Lord Chamberlain would never license it owing to the disturbed state of the country.[4] This the prudent Maria had foreseen, but it is worth noting that she was at least ready to take the risk; as was Richard, who sent it.

ROGER MCHUGH

[1] *Today and Tomorrow in Ireland.* [2] Postscript to Waverley. [3] Written in 1818.
[4] Letter of Maria Edgeworth to Mrs. Ruxton 1811.

THE SPANISH CIVIL WAR IN 1938—AND THE FUTURE

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THE year 1938 (or, more exactly, the ten and a half months of it that have passed as this chronicle is begun) must have been a period of great disappointment for both parties in the Spanish conflict. The Republicans, despite tremendous efforts and a persistence which must call forth the admiration and respect of all but the most prejudiced, have seen their territory cut in two, the Mediterranean reached by the enemy, Teruel (their one important capture of the war) re-taken and the invasion of Catalonia, their principal stronghold, begun. The third winter of the War finds them apparently more closely united in spirit and aim than ever before, but so straitened materially that it is difficult to believe they can survive it, especially if General Franco obtains his long-desired belligerent rights. Nor can the Nationalists be wholly satisfied with their progress. So well did they begin the year that in March and April it was generally assumed that the War would be over before the autumn, and on several occasions their leader declared that it was "already won." But a few days after the Second "Triumphal Year" had given place to the Third, a Republican advance on the Ebro front, comparatively innocuous in appearance, relieved the pressure on Sagunto, removed the immediate threat to Valencia and, as it afterwards proved, kept almost the entire Nationalist army immobile for the rest of the summer. No doubt the Nationalists have still good reason to predict for themselves an eventual triumph, but it seems more likely now that this will come slowly through the internal collapse of the enemy than by any advance on Valencia or spectacular sweep through Catalonia in the near future.

So full has the year been of international preoccupations that Spain has to a great extent disappeared from the news,

and it may not come amiss to summarize the history of the Civil War during this period as the basis for a discussion of the future.

I

At the beginning of 1938 the supporters of the Nationalists were suffering, as they are suffering again ten months later, from quite justifiable depression. The fall of Gijón, on October 21, 1937, had completed the conquest of Asturias and reduced the battlefront to one long and very irregular line running approximately from north to south of the Peninsula. It was anticipated that, after a few weeks' interval, the Nationalists would begin a new and large-scale offensive : the only question was which sector they would choose for it. To capture Madrid (if its defences were not by now, as the Republicans claimed, impregnable) would give General Franco a victory of prestige, but little more. To attack in Aragon (if a winter offensive in such hilly country were practicable) would strike, through Catalonia, at Barcelona, the Republicans' capital. To aim at Almería, on the south coast, would be the easiest procedure, but for reasons difficult to enlarge upon without a map its capture would take the progress of the War as a whole very little farther.

During January and February the answer to this question was eagerly awaited. But it was not answered till the Nationalists struck in Aragon at the beginning of March. It had been the Republicans who had had the hardihood to launch an attack—and a successful one—in the middle of December. Their goal had been Teruel, a key-city situated in southern Aragon. On December 21, after a week's preliminary operations which robbed the Nationalists of several positions of importance, the main assault began, amid snowstorms and gales and in a temperature of ten degrees below zero. Resistance lasted until January 9, when the city surrendered. Any thought of a Nationalist offensive, other than an attempt to re-capture it, was now over. Counter-attacks followed one another in rapid succession. By the end of a month, the Nationalists had removed all immediate threats to their communications and had fully recovered the initiative, of

which the loss six weeks earlier had been interpreted by many as a definitive turn of the tide. On February 22 Teruel was re-captured, and four days later the Nationalist line was consolidated along both the Cuenca and the Valencia road to a depth of six miles.

On March 9 began the Nationalist advance in the south of Aragon and on March 20 the advance in the north. This was evidently intended to sweep into and through the Catalonian and Valencian provinces and to bring the War to an end during the summer. At first it looked like doing so. In the southern offensive, an area of five hundred square miles was occupied and one hundred villages were captured within forty-eight hours. "The Nationalist advance" remarked *The Times* of March 14, "is becoming a triumphant procession and the Republican defeat a rout." Important towns captured included Alcañiz, a valuable road and river junction between Saragossa and Tarragona, and the historic city of Caspe, some miles north of it, on the Ebro. By the end of the first week, two thousand square miles of territory had been captured and the attackers were only fifty miles from the Mediterranean.

Even more impressive was the advance in the north. Huesca was relieved, after a virtual investment which had lasted for eighteen months; Barbastro, thirty miles eastward over the hills, was captured; towards the end of the month the Cinca was crossed and the taking of the last Aragonese town was followed by that of the first Catalan village. On April 3 fell the important city of Lérida, known as the "gateway of Catalonia" and situated only one hundred miles from Barcelona.

Striking again in the south, almost simultaneously with a further advance in the north which gave them Balaguer, Tremp and the control of the power-lines serving Catalonia, the Nationalists now occupied Gandesa. A few days later, in a new eastward offensive from Morella, General Aranda's troops forced their way to the Mediterranean, took the coast-towns of Vinaroz and Benicarló, and thus carved for themselves a corridor to the sea ten miles wide, which they broadened and consolidated in the weeks which followed.

Such lightning successes would have completely undermined the morale of a people less determined than the Spaniards, but the Nationalist advance had hardly begun to slacken when the Republicans began to rally and to brace themselves for a new effort. A year previously discord between the Anarcho-Syndicalist-Marxist (C.N.T.—P.O.U.M.) *bloc* and the Popular Front Government had been at its worst: a week's miniature Civil War which took place in Barcelona had cost at least one thousand lives. Now this discord was all over. A pact (not, it must be allowed, the first of its kind) had been signed by Socialists and Anarcho-Syndicalists guaranteeing unity of effort and (among other things) full regional autonomy for Catalonia in the case of victory. And from mid-April to mid-June the advance practically ceased: it was "a necessary period of rest," said the Nationalists' supporters. Pushing northwards from Vinaroz and Alcanar, towards the Ebro delta, the insurgents hammered at Tortosa, but in vain. Cross the Ebro they could not—and the greater part of the city lies on the other side. Pushing southwards, they were successful in widening their corridor to the sea from ten to forty miles and, on June 14, in capturing Castellón de la Plana. But this was the last of their successes; and though Sagunto, their next southward objective, lies only twenty-five miles from Castellón, the rest of the year has not sufficed them for its capture.

For, on July 26, the Republicans again resumed the initiative; and, with a success that has surprised observers on both sides, they have prevented all further Nationalist progress. The new offensive was opened on approximately a hundred-mile front, on the right bank of the Ebro, with its main impact upon the town of Gandesa, which the Republicans soon claimed to be surrounding on three sides, very much in the way that they had for so long surrounded Huesca. Heavy counter-attacks, carried on in a shade temperature of 109^0 (a contrast with winter conditions at Teruel!), drove them back almost at once in this sector towards the Ebro and freed Balaguer from a position of some peril. But nearly four months have passed since then, and on neither side has there been any really

appreciable progress. The ground for the main attack was well chosen by the Republicans. With the banks of the Ebro held firmly on both flanks, only frontal resistance is possible: six counter-attacks in the ten remaining weeks of summer and early autumn achieved no more than an irregular denting of the salient; and a seventh resolute attack launched at the beginning of November had not, at the time of writing (November 15), completely flattened it.

Those who prophesied, long since, that the War would end in a stalemate are beginning to wonder if these events do not mark the beginning of their prophecy's fulfilment. For this Ebro battle—if battle it can be called—is in fact the most remarkable stalemate of a war which for the most part, taken as a whole, has proceeded slowly, and it may well rank with the resistance of Madrid as one of its major happenings. But even if the conflict is to be ended, not by stalemate or internal collapse but by a military victory, the respite granted to the Republicans will certainly delay this issue. The boasted invulnerability of the Catalonian defences, like that of the Madrid defences, may or may not be founded on fact: neither, at any rate, have as yet been thoroughly tested. But the stalemate has given the defenders of Catalonia ample time to set to work on their fortifications, and, as it seems unlikely that much more fighting will now take place before next spring, they will also have the opportunity to replenish their reserves of man-power and of war material.

The causes of the Nationalists' failure to level the Gandesa salient and to press forward both in Catalonia and towards Valencia have naturally been the subject of keen discussion among those whose attention has not been diverted, by events elsewhere, from the Spanish conflict. The issue is too often obscured by party prejudice; but, discarding the wild statements made by the more irresponsible of the supporters of either side, we may quite briefly summarize the reasons most commonly given. Supporters of the Nationalists say that their leader prefers to conduct his advance in such a way as to cause the minimum number of casualties. The result of the War, they argue, is certain; and, though hurricane methods

would bring it about sooner, they would also make post-war reconstruction more difficult: the humane way is to advance only where few losses are likely to be involved and for the rest to await the enemy's imminent collapse. Opponents of the Nationalists remark upon the intense bombing activity which has been characteristic of the Ebro battle and assert that General Franco is weak, and growing progressively weaker, in infantry: this they attribute to the withdrawal of some of his foreigners, to the cessation of the formerly continuous flow from Italy and Germany, and to a complete lack of enthusiasm for the War which they attribute—with no discernible foundation—to Nationalist Spain.

Which, if any, of these reasons is responsible for the stalemate it is impossible, without further evidence, to determine. But the fact of the stalemate, the stage reached in the War after nearly two and a half years, and the conditions behind the lines on either side may help us to some conclusions on the subject of the War's eventual outcome.

II

The principal effect abroad of this summer of fruitless struggle has been to turn men's minds again to the possibility of a solution in Spain by agreement. No doubt in Spain itself, and on both sides of the line, the possibility is also being taken into consideration, but such are the conditions of civil war that it is being little talked about, at least in public. Indeed, whether (as it maintains) from a conviction of the certainty of ultimate triumph or from fear of the consequences of any apparent weakening of effort, each side utterly scouts the possibility of mediation. Early in October, when the Munich agreement was strengthening the will to peace and bringing out popular feeling abroad in favour of a reconciliation between the two parties, the Nationalist press began a campaign against what one paper stigmatized as a "truce of the Devil," and General Franco made a public declaration that there could be no ending to the War "save the unconditional surrender of the vanquished to the generosity, already abundantly demonstrated, of the victors." Dr. Negrín, the Republican Prime Minister, at the formal meeting of the Cortes

held near Barcelona on October 1, also dismissed the idea of any reconciliation except one based on the Thirteen Points which he had laid down in the preceding April. A fortnight later he broadcast a refusal to consider " dictated terms " or any partition of Spain, though (according to *The Times* of October 18) he was " willing at any time to negotiate for peace with the adversary."

The Thirteen Points, on their publication, were described as a policy for which the Republicans were prepared to " fight to the bitter end." It was fairly clear, however, that they were intended rather as an indication to the Powers of what the Popular Front would be prepared to consider as a basis for peace negotiations, for they could not possibly have obtained a majority vote from the supporters of the Popular Front. After demanding as a preliminary the evacuation of foreign troops—presumably on both sides—they proposed the holding of a national plebiscite to decide upon the future structure of the State; the granting of " regional liberties without diminution of natural unity "; the fullest rights for citizens, expressly including freedom of conscience and religion; a guarantee by the State of property legally acquired; agrarian reform; guarantees for the rights of labour; an army freed from political influence; and an amnesty for all Spaniards willing to co-operate in the task of reconstruction. This was more like a letter to *The Times* by Don Salvador de Madariaga or a programme drawn up by the Committee for Civil and Religious Peace in Spain than a declaration emanating from a Government composed of Republicans, Socialists, Marxists, Communists, Syndicalists and Anarchists. The article demanding the plebiscite, moreover, indicates that there must be " the fullest guarantees for free expression." But guarantees from whom? Obviously no party or group in Spain which the Republicans could command would be able to offer any: the idea in the minds of those who framed the Thirteen Points must have been international supervision. There are other minor indications which suggest that Dr. Negrín meant to send out his declaration like the dove of peace in search of an olive-branch, but it seems not to have been generally so considered.

If Dr. Negrín is indeed " willing at any time to negotiate for peace with the adversary " and if this statement also represents the Popular Front Government's considered opinion, it clearly indicates a lessening of that Government's earlier intransigence. But there is another indication to the same effect, slight indeed but much more significant than either the Thirteen Points or the Government's offer of October, and this too has been strangely passed over almost in silence. I refer to the rumours, which circulated so freely and persistently in the foreign Press that they were at first assumed to be inspired, of the imminence of a Cabinet crisis in October, as a result of which, it was said, Dr. Negrín was to be succeeded as Prime Minister by Sr. Martínez Barrio. The crisis did not, in the end, take place; but, as such definite reports can hardly have been without foundation, it will be well to consider their significance with an eye to the future.

Don Diego Martínez Barrio, who in 1936 succeeded Don Julián Besteiro as President (*i.e.*, Speaker) of the Republican Cortes, was one of the early opponents of Sr. Azaña during the " Red Biennium " of 1931-3 and is said to have been the author of the famous description of the Azaña *régime* as one of " mud, blood and tears." In 1933 he was President of the last of the moderate " Bridge " Governments which preluded the elections of November, and—a much more significant fact—he was chosen as Prime Minister by Sr. Azaña on July 19, 1936, on the resignation of Sr. Casares Quiroga, immediately after the outbreak of war. The intention of the President of the Republic, in entrusting so moderate a man with the formation of a Government at such a time, must have been to endeavour to draw off support from the insurgents; and the fact that Sr. Martínez Barrio's Cabinet included at least one minister who had refused to subscribe to the Popular Front's election manifesto lends colour to this view. More than this cannot be said, since the leaders of the extremist groups, overriding Article 75 of the Republican Constitution, refused to allow the appointment, and the unfortunate President was compelled to choose another Prime Minister whom they approved. But if history should repeat itself,

with variations, and Sr. Martínez Barrio (or even, to quote another rumour, the almost equally moderate Sr. Besteiro) should be called upon by the Popular Front to form a Government, it would surely be a sign that a plea for the beginning of negotiations would not be far distant. This does not mean, of course, since General Franco is still adamant, that negotiations would take place; but it does mean that the end of the War would be brought appreciably nearer—possibly even that it would follow almost immediately.

III

To discuss in all their aspects the questions of mediation and an agreed peace would only be possible in a separate article, and that not a short one. It must suffice here to indicate the outstanding probabilities. For my own part, I have always held that an agreed peace, were it practicable, would have a much longer life than a peace imposed by the victory of the one side over the other. General Franco declares that mediation would only let loose war over again: history, especially the history of Spain, as I read it, indicates the contrary. So, too, as far as it can be estimated, does a consideration of the state of the parties in the country. In the elections of February 1936 almost as many votes were cast for the one side as for the other; and if it be argued that the antireligious excesses of the Left extremists since that date must have sent opinion over to the Right, it may also be argued that right-wing politics did not in February 1936, as they do now, imply a dictatorship. To look at the question from another angle, the Trade Unions number their adherents by the million, and there must also be at least six million natives of regions which put the demand for autonomy in the forefront of their programme. On these grounds alone, therefore, a rigidly centralized totalitarian Government could hardly fail to have at least seven or eight millions of its twenty-three million citizens opposed to it. If, on the other hand, we assume a victory for the extremist elements in the Popular Front, the number of dissentients becomes still larger: who shall say how many millions of Spaniards would resist every such

attempt as a Communist or an Anarcho-Syndicalist Government might make to rob them of freedom of worship? If, to take the third possibility, we assume a victory which ends in the emergence (by some means at present difficult to forecast) of a moderate party such as Republican Union, or of any group of constitutional and democratic right-wing parties, we have at once an atmosphere favourable for a peace by negotiation.

Could such a procedure be imposed from without or agreed upon within, two of the various methods of settlement which have been suggested seem more worthy of consideration than the rest—partition and plebiscite.

A suggestion has been put forward, chiefly in academic quarters, that Spain might be partitioned into states, each governed according to one of the ideals represented by the contending parties, the whole country to be a federal republic. "Everybody," wrote Professor José Castillejo in October 1936, "knows the wide differences of climate, race, topography, production and social organization between the various regions of Spain. One of the causes of the failure of the Republican *régime* has been to attempt reforms without taking into account these contrasts. Would not the nearest though by no means an easy solution be a federal Republic where each group of provinces could choose its own political *régime*—Fascist, Communist, Syndicalist, and even Liberal Democratic—if there are still left enough Spaniards willing and glad to live in an atmosphere of toleration? This would permit the transfer or exchange of families if they preferred the government of their neighbours to their own."[1]

This sounds attractive, but it leaves out of account at least four considerations. First, the principle of federalism was expressly discarded by even the comparatively advanced Republican Constitution of 1931, and it may be doubted if there is any considerable number of federalists in the country outside Catalonia. Secondly, such an arrangement as is proposed would give extremists on both sides such complete domination over their own territories that it would probably

[1] *Manchester Guardian*, October 2, 1936.

take more than an international police force to keep them for long within these bounds. Thirdly, except that Catalonia is strongly attracted by schemes of decentralization, there is no such well-marked natural division in ideas between various parts of Spain as there is between (for example) Eire and Ulster. Fourthly, Spaniards are proverbially averse from and unskilled in collaboration, and the present would be a most inauspicious time for them to attempt to overcome this disadvantage.

It would probably be more practicable for them to seek a *via media*—a principle which has ample precedent in Spanish history. A plebiscite on the nature of the future State alone, as suggested in the " Thirteen Points " declaration, would carry matters very little farther. But a plebiscite on the programme of a leader with a definite, firm and moderate policy would be very different. After a comparatively short preliminary period of pacification, a plan of government which would be acceptable to the large majority of Spaniards might be carefully worked out and, with the collaboration of the Powers, put to the vote.

An internationally supervised plebiscite might be expected to bring in, with an enormous majority, any leader who could be found able and willing to sponsor a policy of slow and moderate reform. To postulate such a leader, who would indeed be the saviour of Spain, is perhaps to tax the imagination too severely—yet in a period of national crisis the emergence of a leader is always a possibility. One might envisage the establishment of a Third Republic, with two Houses of Parliament and a Constitution, liberal in the best sense of the word but not revolutionary, recognizing fully the traditions still cherished by the large majority of Spaniards and according liberty to all Spaniards who respect the law.

Essentials of this Constitution might be somewhat as follows : (1) the concession of a generous degree of Home Rule to Catalonia and the Basque Country and possibly of a moderate degree of autonomy to Galicia : elsewhere in Spain there is little spontaneous desire for autonomy among the people ; (2) freedom of worship for all, the abolition of religious tests,

and the treatment of Catholics, as well as of non-Catholics, with genuine tolerance; (3) the postponement of any interference with schools kept by the religious Orders until the Government should have provided a place in a school for every child in the country not at present attending one: by the time this was done the question of "religious" schools could be considered fully and in a pacific atmosphere; (4) measures of genuine reform in secondary and higher education, with the granting of autonomy to the universities; (5) the creation of a new Institute of Agrarian Reform, non-political (unlike the old one) and prepared to work more slowly than its predecessor.

These are mere suggestions, which leave untouched such important questions as the organization of national defence, the place of the Army in the State, the delimitation of the franchise, the general position of the religious Orders and Congregations, municipal reform, the improvement of industrial conditions, and so on. But at least they indicate a possible middle way, if Spain can be induced to take it. A more likely course, however, seems to be the ending of the War by a decisive victory, in which case we cannot hope that any serious consideration will be given to the ideas of the minority for a long time to come. But, bearing in mind the nature of the Spanish temperament, which tends to strike severely, and even cruelly, and then to repent and endeavour to mitigate the effects of its own blows, we may hope that even totalitarian rule in Spain, if it comes, may in time be sufficiently relaxed to allow the chief minorities at least to live peaceably and contentedly in a land which to-day can be yearning for nothing so much as peace and contentment.

E. Allison Peers

THE IRISH EMIGRANT SOCIETY OF NEW YORK

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IMMIGRANTS in the late 1830's were becoming a problem in the United States, and more especially in New York whose port had seen 424,936 arrivals in the decade 1830 to 1839, of whom possibly a fifth were Americans or former immigrants returning from Europe or an American coastal port.[1] Probably one-half of these aliens were from Ireland, and the Irish quota was gradually shifting from a majority of Protestants and Presbyterians to Roman Catholics. Fear of immigration was aroused during the panic of 1837 with its resultant increase in unemployment of both natives and foreigners, the bankruptcy of business and the general cessation of public works. The Report from the Select Committee of Congress on Foreign Paupers and Naturalization Laws[2] demonstrated that paupers and decrepit persons were being shipped to the United States by European principalities and by overseers of the poor where the workhouse system prevailed as in Great Britain. Irish immigrants, as yet, were generally of the better class—of petty manufacturers crushed out by the factory system and sturdy small farmers exterminated by the economically more efficient enclosure system. However, native unemployment, due to competition with foreign labour with a lower standard of living, charges that Irish foreigners especially furnished a large quota of the inmates of institutions, and the usual hostility to aliens of strange tongues, habits, creeds and clannish associations lead to abortive political nativism with an undemocratic programme of opposition to the foreigner as a potential office holder, voter, and labourer save on jobs too arduous and dangerous to appeal to native-born workers. With the rise of prosperity

[1] All notes will be found at the end of the article.

after 1840, this nativism was engulfed in a stirring nationalist pride in the expansion of business and population until panicky years came again.

Aroused by criticism of their fellow countrymen, some of which was justly founded, and in the hope of aiding the bewildered and defrauded newcomers stranded in the Atlantic port-towns a number of Irishmen of standing in New York under Doctor Robert Hogan, president of the Friendly Sons of St. Patrick, determined to establish an Irish Emigration Society in 1839. Quite naturally he appealed to the aged nestor, Doctor William J. MacNevin (1763-1841), one of the last survivors of '98, a distinguished physician and writer of several volumes, who for thirty-five years had been revered as the leader of his race and creed in New York and as a man without ulterior motives in serving the best interest of his people in America and in Ireland.[3] In a letter MacNevin recalled that original work of similar character had been done by Thomas O'Connor through his paper, the *Shamrock*, and later by the Union Emigrant Society in which Irishmen and native Americans were equally concerned and which had been aided materially by the *Truth Teller*, a Catholic weekly journal. He would have such a society non-partisan in politics and he believed, quite correctly, that its greatest service would lie in putting the healthy poor in work and in spreading the immigrants over the country.[4]

No doubt, MacNevin referred to the pamphlet *Hints to Irishmen Who Intend with their Families to Make a Permanent Residence in America* (1816) published by the Shamrock Society under the signatures of himself, Thomas Addis Emmet (1764-1827), Irvine and Humbert—all Irish rebels who were succeeding in New York's colony of 12,000 Irishmen. Reprinted in various forms, widely circulated in the British Isles and copiously abstracted by the Irish press, the little brochure gave valuable information and sound advice as it counselled immigrants to go on the land, advance to the western frontiers, avoid settling as labourers in the cities with their slums and seasonal employment, and practise the virtues of temperance, thrift, industry and political morality.[5] Under

the same leadership, fortified by Daniel McCormick, Counsellor William Sampson, and Andrew Morris and a score of fellow countrymen of various creeds, there was formed an ephemeral Irish Emigrant Association which joined with similar organizations in Philadelphia, Baltimore, and St. Louis in a bootless petition to Congress for an allocation of lands in Illinois for Irish colonies.

Among the promoters of the new Irish Emigrant Association were such local leaders as Dr. William Power (brother of John Power, the beloved Irish priest and of Maurice, later M.P. from Cork),[6] Patrick S. Casserly, a classical teacher (whose son, Eugene, became a United States Senator from California), the aged Thomas O'Connor, editor and Tammany sachem (whose son, Charles, became a leader of the American bar and a candidate for the presidency on a minor liberal ticket), James Reyburn, William Redmond, Bernard Graham, James W. White, a journalist, Jacob Harvey, the Quaker merchant and philanthropist, Thomas W. Clarke, Dr. Hugh Sweeney, who spent himself in the service of the poor and of the asylums,[7] John Mullen, John McKeon, a member of Congress, Robert White, Robert Emmet, and John T. Doyle. In addition, the movement had the support of the *Freeman's Journal*, which, though stressing almost defensively its Americanism, urged the crucial need of aiding the crowds of immigrants, of whom some returned in despondency to Ireland and others tarried to populate the sordid cellars of the wretched and vicious slums of New York. While the editor foresaw an improvement in future arrivals with the extension of Father Theobald Mathew's total abstinence reform, he would almost drive immigrant labourers into the West—where if they had gone from the beginning, they "would have escaped the licentiousness and corruptions of the city by which they have been sunken and degraded, and would now be, as we have often seen their countrymen in the settlements in the backwoods, the owners of the soil on which they laboured."[8]

Despite such popular leadership and the worthiness of the cause, the inaugural meeting was poorly attended, and indifference if not factional hostility in some quarters threat-

ened the society's beginnings. Well might Hogan contrast the lack of interest of some ambitious, servile and successful Irishmen with the enthusiasm of the aged Republican rebels as he called for serviceable patriotism. In view of the commendable, organized efforts of German citizens to aid their kinsmen, he could offer no reason why the larger and more opulent Irish colony should not undertake the work of immigrant-aid when it could support such fraternal societies as the Hibernian Benevolent Society, the Erina Fraternal Society of Brooklyn, the Hibernian Universal Society, the Shamrock Benevolent Society, the Young Men's Carroll Club, and the Friendly Sons of St. Patrick.[9] With united action this could be done, and certainly the welfare of the Irish in America was a more immediate subject for attention than the wrongs and hopes of Old Ireland which they left behind. From sad experience he knew the painful trials of immigrants and the frauds which were practised upon them; yet he had been told that this organization was doomed to failure as only a politician could hold the Irish. This to him was a calumny on the race. As for himself, he declared that he was an independent voter who saw much that was evil in partisan conflicts. In this organization there would be no politics nor any cultivation of clannishness; for Irishmen must affiliate with natives if they are to prosper in this country. As to what the Irish had to offer to the land of their adoption, he would merely suggest: "Were the contributions of Irish labour in developing the physical resources of the country to be annihilated to-morrow, let him ask how many centuries would not America be thrown back in the march of improvement." However, too often in this city the Irish take to drink and to association with a profligate element; whereas if they could be turned toward the land, their happiness would be more enduring. Therewith, James Shea, the scholarly schoolmaster (father of the later historian of the Catholic Church in America) recalled the good which had been accomplished by that old Emigrant Society under the direction of MacNevin, Thomas O'Connor, and the late Dennis McCarthy.[10]

Again the *Freeman's Journal* was encouraging as it urged Irish citizens, both numerous and respectable in New York, to unite in assistance to immigrants. As an example of the advantage of the interior as a place for their settlement, it drew attention to the successful Irish colony in Susquehanna County, Pennsylvania, where a wilderness had been transformed within eighteen years into a habitation for two hundred families served by two Catholic churches.[11]

On March 22 the society, under the chairmanship of John Caldwell with T. L. Danaher as secretary, adopted a constitution drafted by Hogan's committee and elected MacNevin president, Hogan and William Redmond vice-presidents, Reyburn, Casserly, and J. O'Connell secretaries, and named an executive committee composed of Harvey, T. W. Clarke, Samuel Osborn, John Quinn, Frank Mann, Robert Cochran, Robert White, Felix Ingoldsby, Dr. Hugh Sweeney, Gilbert Rice, G. McBride, Jr. and Cornelius Shehan. Such directors indicated a broad policy and a divorce from local politics and narrow sectarianism. Caldwell pointed out that, while critics held that the society was gotten up by aristocrats, it was merely an aristocracy of honesty. Webster, a Protestant and publisher of the *Democratic Review*, argued that there was dire need of their work, if he could judge from his travels of forty years over the States. Words of approval came from Bishop John Hughes and Rev. John Power, V.G., and an inspiring letter from the Rev. William Powell, who observed: "It must be admitted by those who are at all acquainted with the character of the Irish Emigrants that they possess materials which only require judicious management to blend their sympathies with the institutions of our republic, and thereby render them useful and orderly citizens." Dr. Theller, a resident of the West, guaranteed that if our countrymen who fill alms-houses in the East will go westward, we will make them supporters of alms-houses.

An address issued by the society explained its purpose and sought to meet possible criticism. Having pointed out that the Irish immigrants formed a large proportion of the whole number of arrivals at our port, it went on: "With

a due regard then to the exigencies of this free and prosperous country, and the aptitude of the Irish emigrants to supply them, it will be conceded that no foreigners reach these shores whose services are more required, or whose labours are more richly remunerative to the land that offers them an asylum." Ireland's population has doubled with a corresponding increase in poverty and sub-division of land. Consolidations of small farms may improve the economy of estates, but they ruin a peasantry with ejections. Therefore emigration grows ever larger as the peasants are driven from the lands of their fathers. The trials of immigrants are not unknown. An immigrant's false step on arrival may spell permanent failure in spite of a life of toil. As for emigrant-relief, let old men give countenance; rich men, money; and young men, active service. Correspondents must be found in Irish ports, at Liverpool, and in the interior of the United States. Immigrants must rid themselves of factional broils, be warned against secret societies, and be admonished to treat all Irishmen as brothers regardless of arbitrary geographical subdivisions. On arrival, they should be advised concerning routes and public works, warned against improper lodging houses, saved from toilsome journeys inspired by elusive advertisements, and preserved from crooked contractors, dishonest prospectuses, and remittance-sharpers.[12]

Without delay the Irish Emgirant Society became active, as its card was distributed at the Battery with the invitation that immigrants call at its office for free advice concerning public works, routes of travel and employment.[13] An employment bureau was established; efforts were made to prevent child-snatching; frauds were exposed; certain named boarding establishments where immigrants were being robbed were cited; and with the assistance of the clergy employment was found for several hundred persons. In various ways, the German Emigrant Society through President Faber assisted, and this group was already engaged in colonizing activities, purchasing 5,000 acres (1843) in Ogden County for one-hundred-fifty settlers and successfully urging its countrymen to settle on the Mid-West. Friendly relations were maintained

with organizations which assisted the relatively negligible French and Italian arrivals. Naturally there was an intimate relationship with the O'Connell Repeal Associations headed by O'Connor and John T. Doyle, which incidentally were far better supported. Collections came in slowly, only totaling $1,464 for a year—barely enough to maintain an office and an agent.[14]

Among national leaders who made ridiculously small contributions were President Van Buren and John C. Calhoun, the great Southern statesman. Shipping houses, as might be anticipated, contributed to the cause, though only three of the twenty-four men were Irish : Grinnell, Minturn Company, $100 ; Charles H. Marshall, $100 ; E. K. Collins and Company, $50 ; Glover and McMurray, $50 ; Adee, Timson and Company, $50 ; Austin, Wilmerding and Company, $50 ; Howland and Aspinwall, $20 ; Ward J. T. Tapscott, $20 ; and John Haggerty and Sons, $20. Moses Taylor, Roche Brothers, Tapscott and Company also worked in harmony. Robert Minturn was reputed to be interested in the Catholic Church to such a degree that he was presented to Dr. Paul Cullen in Rome with a note from Bishop Hughes to obtain an interview for him with Pope Pius IX because " Catholics, especially the poor emigrants from Ireland, have shared so largely of his bounty and devotion to their interests."[15] Minturn (later a commissioner of emigration) must have smiled righteously ; for the immigrant traffic was a rich boon to shippers, whose freight laden ships had a human cargo on the return voyage from Europe.

Aside from that of the terrified interests under attack, there was still some opposition on the score of an earlier failure with apparently some monetary loss and by politically-minded persons who were unwilling to support anything beyond their control. Nor did the *Truth Teller* hesitate to attack the society and its officers.[16] However, in the autumn Hogan could report that the society was growing in favour, critics were satisfied, the repeal spirit was animating Irishmen's interest in immigrants, and plenty of jobs were located for labourers and mechanics as times improved. The published

address of the society recalled Franklin's old advice that America was a haven for the worker rather than for the gentleman, and urged that newcomers should time their arrival between April and July and should be provided with at least a pound sterling in pocket to continue the journey into the interior. Father Mathew's temperance pledge and the will to work were declared the best "characters" which could be presented. Only farmers, mechanics, and labourers should be encouraged to come. Indeed, too often Irish families of some means, who reared their children in idleness and with an aversion to work, believed that a passage to America provided for their future. Such persons have no future, as native youth more than filled the demand for copyists, teachers, clerks and accountants.[17]

The Irish Emigrant Society reported in 1842 that it had found twelve hundred jobs, rescued a number of immigrants from predatory harpies, reported starvation and cruelties on the *Swanton*, an immigrant-ship, brought notice of cruelties practised on the *Normandie* to the court and to the attention of the British consul, James Buchanan, who worked harmoniously with the society as soon as he was convinced that it was not political in character, and listed dishonest boarding-house keepers, some of whom advertised lodgings at $2.63 per week and then exacted enormous amounts—for whose payment they held baggage and intimidated perplexed victims. A sharper was imprisoned for swindling arrivals out of $100 apiece as a fee for finding positions. Dishonest remittance-brokers, who fleeced innocent persons when sending money and prepaid tickets to kinsfolk in Ireland, were exposed as well as the frauds practised on newcomers when being forwarded to the interior of America. Forwarding concerns sent fighting retainers as runners to board lighters which transferred immigrants to the Battery dock. The Sullivan gang and the notorious Sixteenth Street Front gang were engaged in these extortionate activities. It was as a runner at this time that a Tipperary lad, John Morrissey, commenced his career as a rough-and-tumble fighter and gangster which lead to the world's heavy-weight championship

and fame as a race track operator and Congressman.[18] Thus sharp Irish rogues preyed upon their gullible countrymen. Some shippers advertised slow-going barques as fast boats; some vessels sailing short-handed forced steerage passengers to work. The failure of an occasional captain to obey the passenger-acts caused a ship and its passengers to be detained as the *Huron* at Halifax for three weeks.[19]

In 1843, Hogan and his associates framed an address to the People of Ireland in anticipation that the Irish press would acquaint immigrants with the purpose of the Irish Emigrant Society and its offer of voluntary aid: "Multitudes flocked into this city, and into other cities on our Atlantic border, to encounter only want and wretchedness to an extent that baffled our means of alleviation: friendless, moneyless, unable to procure employment, crushed in spirit and emaciated in body, many sought refuge in the alms-house; thousands contrived to return to the land they had left, and nearly all bitterly bewailed their own imprudence." The address warned against false hopes inspired by glowing placards of shipping agents posted throughout Ireland with exaggerated statements of wages on public works. It urged that clerks remain at home and that labourers in these days of American economic prostration with the cessation of public works should delay their departure until times improved, even though they were forced to tarry in a comfortless home. Privations in a strange land were harder to endure than in one's native community. Mechanics may find work, and farmers with a little means have excellent prospects on rich and cheap western lands purchasable on time in fee simple at five shillings an acre, to which the society could direct them. Again it was stressed that Father Mathew's total abstinence pledge was the best recommendation that an immigrant could bring.[20]

In 1843, the society's annual report noted that it had found 1,277 jobs, advised thousands of immigrants, and was petitioning the government to establish agents at ports to guard arrivals against frauds and to give advice concerning favourable locations in the West. General service for immigrants was progressing with non-racial societies established

at Albany and at Boston for "Diffusion of Information among Emigrants." In view of nativist charges that immigration was a burden upon American society, it was pointed out that immigrants both consumed and produced goods, that the commutation tax of a dollar per head exceeded all costs of relief, and that immigrants paid an average of twelve dollars for flat passage and brought in pocket on an average twenty dollars in specie.[21]

Freeman's Journal regretted that Europeans must emigrate, even though they were settling the New World. It believed that the failure of immigrants and the reports that they were herded in ships as in packed African-slavers were exaggerated. Again it wondered if the scheme outlined in a widely printed prospectus of the Catholic Emigration Society of Ireland, under the patronage of Daniel O'Connell, Catholic prelates, Sergeant Murphy of Cork, some bankers and Church of Ireland bishops, would be successful in colonizing poor men in Illinois and Wisconsin. Wisconsin it regarded as a judicious selection, as there were churches and Irish priests in this sparsely settled agricultural region. The plan called for sending to frontier locations poor men who bound themselves before a priest on leaving Ireland and before another on landing in America to work three years at a living wage for the society and thus pay the cost of their transportation while obtaining title to ten acres of land. To satisfy the churchmen, a priest was to be dispatched to each colony. The editor was doubtful of its success and of the binding character of any agreement, as he argued that three years was a long period when the cost could not be over forty dollars a head and the plot of land would be worth only a few dollars. The labourers would soon be attracted by relatively high wages, and he would pay his bill of indebtedness if honest, or if otherwise he would jump his contract.[22] However, nothing came of the idealistic and impractical programme.

The Irish Emigrant Society had only a hundred members at five dollars per year in 1844, when thousands of dollars could be collected for political intrigues in Ireland. However, the work continued, and some valuable statistical information

was collected.[23] In May and June, seventy-three ships from the British Isles brought 10,668 Irish immigrants, of whom 2,665 were farmers and 4,412 came on prepaid tickets, while the English and Scots numbered 3,992. In July and August, the English and Scots numbered 3,466 and the Irish 5,385, of whom 1,600 had prepaid tickets. With reasonable accuracy it was estimated that only five per cent. of these Irish arrivals remained in New York City, thus refuting a commonly held opinion that the bulk of these immigrants remained in the metropolitan area.

Again the Irish Emigrant Society addressed the people of Ireland in 1845. Clerks and professional men were warned that native Americans were preferred in such capacities and were available beyond the demand. Industrious mechanics and labourers had good hopes of employment; and to farmers the interior called. Emigrants should avoid the coastal cities and distribute themselves through the rural regions. To do this would require at least an additional pound for transportation, while thousands of the current immigrants arrive actually penniless. It was urged that emigrants time their arrival for the spring months as a preparation for the intense heat of the summer rather than in the fall, which was soon followed by a severe winter with a resultant labour-slack. Immigrants were advised to patronize regular packets direct to the States, as to New York or to New Orleans and not via Canada, rather than on allegedly cheaper tramp vessels, which often advertised to sail days or even weeks before they actually were able to obtain their necessary quota of passengers and freight. Such delays cost immigrants sorely in time, money, and annoyance. They were warned equally against the knaves of Liverpool and New York. They were advised to bring English gold and not to exchange their money in Liverpool for American "bank notes" of whose value they knew nothing.[24]

The fourth annual report emphasized the dishonest practices of land speculators who placarded the city with warnings against the West as a sickly region while offering for sale their own lands, which often were fit only to raise thistles and

horse potatoes. There was the usual condemnation of rooming-house harpies and of ticket-brokers who charged double fare on canal and river boats. As an example, the society's agent rescued twenty-eight persons from Bernard Duffy's boarding house where they were held for reputed debts by a number of retained loungers. *The Rochester Democrat* was not certain that captains were not often parties to these frauds. The immigrant was a passing stranger, and dishonest persons were practically immune from prosecution. The Emigrant Society at Albany, in reporting some success in a campaign against ticket-frauds, complained that an energetic enforcement of existing laws was needed rather than new legislation on the subject.[25]

Immigrants arrived at New York in growing crowds "in spite of barrier and remonstrance" in Ireland, where the press regarded them as deserters unworthy of encouragement and a helping hand. Yet the "wholesale expatriation" meant only thousands out of Ireland's surplus millions. The *Freeman's Journal* saw diminishing opportunities on the land or on public works for immigrants excited to sail for America by the advertising of competitive shipping lines. Germans and Scots, it noted, came with a settled plan to go on land selected in advance by agents. The Germans were desperately poor but not improvident; and they became laborious tillers of the soil. Misdirected the Irish arrived leaving their future to chance; and incidentally too many of their directors were desperately ignorant of the advantages of the Mid-West. He would urge the foundation of emigrant societies like those in Cork and Dublin, for any plan forwarding the happy settlement of emigrants should arise in Ireland itself.[26]

Resolutions were presented by the Irish Emigrant Society, in 1847, before the legislature at Albany and before Congress at Washington urging legislation which would protect the health and lives of emigrants. It was urged that the commutation tax, which amounted to $116,000 in 1846, should go into the city treasury and not to brokers. Private hospitals were described as atrocious—with as many as sixty persons

in a ward twenty feet square. At the discretion of the mayor, it was urged that a $300 bond be demanded for each passenger who was likely to become a burden upon the community.[27] As a result of the general agitation against frauds practised upon immigrants as reported by the racial emigrant societies, the legislature appointed a select committee (Thomas Smith, A. S. Upham, D. S. McNamara, A. E. Chandler, and James C. Rutherford) to report upon the whole situation.[28] The committee took its assignment seriously and called witnesses representative of the various racial groups and of concerns engaged in immigrant traffic. While little new information was obtained, there was unfolded a sordid tale of corruption and of heinous frauds of harpies upon their unsuspecting countrymen—Irishmen upon Irishmen, even in Liverpool,[29] and Germans upon Germans.

Runners, rooming-house keepers with charges of a dollar a meal instead of the advertised sixpence, money-changers, hackers, keepers of low saloons and crooked ticket-sellers worked in a vicious combination, and they were not without political influence in this badly governed city. Honest men in the immigrant business were intimidated and authorities were lax in the enforcement of protective regulations. Few immigrants were sufficiently intelligent and aggressive to dodge runners and obtain their own steamer and rail tickets, which had dropped to less than a cent a mile.[30] Accommodations were bad, for these westward emigrants were packed on the decks of canal and river boats like cattle, but they were accustomed to harsh treatment and crowded conditions from the time they left their native heath.

Charles Webb of the British Protective Association was accused of turning the forwarding business over to his relative of Hinds and Company, although in general the English and Welsh arrivals were fairly well protected. Harnden and Company paid commissions to night watchmen and " stools " to send westward-bound immigrants to their offices. In a recent biographical sketch, William Frederick Harnden is described as an express man and an importer of labour who established offices in Ireland and advertised bills of exchange

and a cheap passage by way of the Hudson River and Erie Canal to the West. Doubtlessly this was the J. H . . . . . N and Company (South Street) which failed to send a remittance and threatened the complaining labourer with the law. When the matter was taken up by the Irish Emigrant Society, the company failed to go to court but dissolved the firm and re-established business under another name.[31]

The agent of the Netherlands Emigration Society testified that his life was frequently in danger from runners, who were determined to defraud the Hollanders who carried considerable money and who for the most part were going to distant Michigan. Thus they were choice prey. Among forwarders, Smethurst, Roach, Mathews, O'Hern, and George W. Daley appeared in a bad light. They employed a hundred runners, paying from $40 to $75 per month with an opportunity for additional "graft." James Roach was said to keep sixteen fighting men. In Albany, in addition to a score of runners, there were two or three hundred hackmen whose services were forced upon immigrants who could easily have carried their own luggage from boat to train.

As a result of this investigation and the pleas of the various emigrant societies,[32] a law was passed establishing the Commissioners of Emigration of the State of New York, among whom were included *ex officio* the heads of the German and Irish societies. The commissioners were empowered to handle the whole immigration problem, protect immigrants, license runners and boarding houses, collect statistics, enforce captains' bonds up to $300 for persons likely to become paupers, collect the computation tax ($1.50, later $2.00 per head) and establish necessary landing piers and quarters as Castle Garden in 1855. Fortunately the commissioners had perfected their organization in time for the great in-rush of Irish and German immigrants after 1847.

The success of the society in New York was reflected in the organization of the Philadelphia Irish Emigrant Society with Archibald Randall[33] as president and Francis Tiernan, Joseph R. Chandler (an American minister to Naples), Hugh Campbell, and Alderman John Binns (a noble old rebel) as

active promoters. The arrival of so many Irish, it was held, must be providential; and hence it was asked "Is it not our duty then to prepare him (the emigrant) by kindness to be moulded into a good loving citizen of the Republic, irrespective of creed or politics?" There was to be no pecuniary relief; but there would be maintained an office which would correspond with other societies, handle remittances, guard recent arrivals from vulture-keepers of lodging houses, provide the enquiring immigrant with maps, information, and general counsel, and operate an employment bureau for those seeking mechanics, labourers, and domestics.[34] A similar Irish Emigrant Society was established in New Orleans, a rather popular port of entry for the South and the Mississippi Valley, under J. P. Kirwin as treasurer (1847). And to protect the savings of immigrants and their enormous remittances to their kin in Ireland, the members of the Irish Emigrant Association promoted the Emigrant Industrial Savings Bank (1850), which continues to operate as one of the substantial banking institutions of New York.[35]

Gregory Dillon, president of the Irish Emigrant Society, followed the practice of advising prospective Irish emigrants to procure the definite addresses of their friends in America but to depend upon their own exertions for success.[36] He urged them to call upon the agents of the society for advice and thus avoid situations from which it was difficult to extricate themselves once involved. He warned that the society's agent who met the ship would be condemned by runners, many of whom spoke the Gaelic tongue, but such charges would be patently false if immigrants remembered that the society served them gratis. The runners would promise cheap lodgings for which they might be charged several times the contracted price and their belongings held until the extortionate costs were paid. Worse than these runners were those Irishmen who brought their prey to corrupt ticket-brokers who sold fraudulent transportation tickets, thus leaving their deluded victims stranded in some strange place among people so accustomed to such matters that they had grown callous. Such was the character of some of

the Irish racketeers who infested the wharves and incoming boats.

Nor were some of these villains above preying upon innocent friendless girls of their own race, for whom they found employment in disorderly houses. It was to protect working girls that Bishop Hughes introduced the Sisters of Mercy from Dublin, who opened a refuge of mercy (1849) which was supported by donations and proceeds from their select academy. In five years these nuns sheltered 2,325 girls and found service for over five thousand. During the Civil War this community managed a military hospital in North Carolina.[37] It was in this meritorious work of saving young Irish girls that Frances Dolan (wife of Thomas) did outstanding service.[38]

The Irish Emigrant Society continued its activities working through the state commissioners of emigration (1847-1860), among whom the Irish element was well represented in men of integrity and ability: Jacob Harvey (d. 1848), William V. Brady, William McArdle, John E. Devlin, James Kelly, John A. Kennedy, James Mathews (d. 1854), Gregory Dillon, and Andrew Carrigan who succeeded Dillon as president of the Irish Emigrant Society. Of Dillon the commissioners could report officially on his death (1854): "Mr. Dillon was one of our oldest and most respected adopted citizens, and had for years devoted himself with zeal and energy to the welfare of emigrants from his native land. In the service of this commission, he extended the same benevolent zeal to the destitute from all nations who came under his care, and his attention to his different duties were unremitting and faithful."[39] The Irish Emigrant Society did a tremendous amount of good, directly and indirectly, for the million and one-half Irishmen who landed in New York between 1847 and 1860, and no intangible service to the other racial immigrants and to the country at large.

RICHARD J. PURCELL

[1] See chapters on immigration to New York by R. J. Purcell in *History of New York*, Vol. VII (1937), edited by A. C. Flick and D. R. Fox; also "Irish Cultural Contribution to Early New York" by Richard J. Purcell in *Catholic Educational Review*, Oct., 1937, Jan., 1938.

[2] July 2, 1838. Second session, 25th Congress.

[3] *Dictionary of American Biography* (*D.A.B.*) XII, 153; *Freeman's Journal*, July 17, 24 and Dublin, *Freeman's Journal*, Aug. 2, 1841 from *Boston Pilot*.

[4] *Freeman's Journal*, Aug. 29, 1840. For an account of a St. Patrick's Day celebration of the Hibernian Society to relieve immigrants and establish a society to relieve Irishmen in distress. *Shamrock*, Mar. 27, 1813.

[5] Reprinted in London as *Hints to Emigrants from Europe* (1817) and in Belfast with a cut-rate edition at 6½d. See also *Dublin Evening Post*, Jan. 23, and the *Belfast Newsletter*, Nov. 1, 1817.

[6] Sketch of Dr. John Power by R. J. Purcell in *D.A.B.*, XV, 156; of Maurice Power in *Truth Teller*, July 31, 1847.

[7] Today he would be eulogized as a social worker. Obituary in *Freeman's Journal*, Jan. 16, 1858.

[8] *Freeman's Journal*, Jan. 16, 1841. James W. White and Eugene Casserly later became editors of the consolidated *Freeman's Journal and Catholic Register*. In answer to a circular letter from the society a lengthy report of opportunities in Iowa was received from Irish leaders in Dubuque, *Ibid*, Aug. 7, 1841.

[9] *Freeman's Journal*, Jan. 16, 30; Mar. 20, 27; Apr. 10; Nov. 21, 1841, for the basis of this material.

[10] *Ibid.*, Feb. 20, 1841. [11] *Ibid.*, Feb. 7, 1841. [12] *Ibid.*, Mar. 27, 1841.

[13] *Ibid.*, July 3, 1841. [14] *Ibid.*, July 24; Oct. 16, 1841.

[15] *Records of the American Catholic Historical Society of Philadelphia*, VIII, 498.

[16] *Freeman's Journal*, Aug. 6, 1842.

[17] *Ibid.*, Oct. 16, 1841.

[18] *D. A. B.* XIII, 233; W. E. Harding, *John Morrissey, His Life, Battles and Wrangles* (1881).

[19] *Freeman's Journal*, Apr. 9; Oct. 22; Nov. 12, 1842.

[20] *Ibid.*, Mar. 18, 1843.

[21] *Ibid.*, Apr. 8, 1843.

[22] *Ibid.*, Apr. 22; May 6, 13, 1843.

[23] *Niles' Weekly Register*, 67 : 80; *Freeman's Journal*, Aug. 24; Sept. 14, 1844.

[24] Printed in *Freeman's Journal*, Jan. 18, 1845.

[25] *Freeman's Journal*, May 3; June 21, 28, 1845.

[26] *Freeman's Journal*, June 21, 1845.

[27] *Truth Teller*, Jan. 30, 1847.

[28] *Report of the Select Committee appointed by the Legislature of New York to examine into Frauds upon Emigrants* (Albany, 1847, pp. 149).

[29] *The London Times* (Sept. 12, 1837; Nov. 27, 1841) had long advocated government regulation of emigrant business with its shocking abuses at Liverpool, where two-thirds of those departing were natives of Ireland.

[30] Albany at 150 miles was $1.00; Utica, $1.50; Syracuse, $2.25; Rochester, $2.50; and Buffalo, $3.00. These waterway cities were becoming considerable Irish centres.

[31] *D. A. B.*, VIII, 279; *Freeman's Journal*, Aug. 7, 1847.

[32] J. T. Smith (The Catholic Church in New York (1915), I, 159) gives a large measure of credit to Bishop Hughes, Andrew Carrigan and John E. Devlin—all of whom were concerned with the establishment of St. John's College, Fordham. A. J. Thebaud, S.J., *Forty Years in the U.S.A.* (1904) 281.

Editor Denman of the *Truth Teller*, a violent critic of abuses and frauds, favoured Carrigan but denounced Devlin, who as a member of the legislature was said to have striven to prevent a thorough investigation. Jan. 9; Oct. 23; Dec. 11, 1847.

[33] A judge of the U.S. District Court and, aside from Chief Justice Taney of the U.S. Supreme Court, one of the very few Catholics on the bench, federal or state. Obituary in *Catholic Herald*, June 11, 1846.

[34] *Catholic Herald*, June 15; Aug. 10, 1843.

[35] W. H. Bennett, *A Chronological History of the Emigrant Industrial Savings Bank* (1932).

[36] Printed in *Tipperary Vindicator*, Apr. 29, 1848 and doubtlessly in other Irish papers.

[37] Smith, *op. cit.*, I, 197 ff.

[38] Obituary in *Truth Teller*, May 1, 1847.

[39] *Annual Reports of the Commissioners of Emigration of the State of New York, May 5, 1847-1860* (New York, 1861) 172.

SOME IRISH BARDIC POEMS

EDITED BY REV. LAMBERT MCKENNA, S.J.

XLVIII

GOD'S PACT WITH US

1. Óic an connrad, a Chlann Adaim,
—slóig na cruinne ciontaidid
gan é go hurlam oirne—
cunnrad Dé 'n-ar ndeaghaidne.

2. Luaigh an chrú ar ar gceannuigh sinn
ní fhaghann—oic an oircill!
móide cóir Dé 'n-ar ndeaghaid
ar fóir fé dar sinnsearaib.

3. Tugumar an tlacht neamhda
i n-ioc aithne an Tighearna;
feall ar a hathair d'Éadha
gearr gurb fhaicim aithméala.

4. I dtig Dé ní dheaghaid fear
ag caiteamh na gcúig n-aimsear;
gur fhár Muire nír mhidid
cár na n-uile d'fhóirithin.

5. Ir uille ná ioc an chroinn
gach tuirbaid a-tá chughainn;
ní bia dá mbeath mar do dhligh
leath ag Dia sir na daoinibh.

6. Ón dílinn—dia do ghábadh!—
téid ochtar [ón] iombádadh;
do aghaill d'uaim na háirce
a bhfuair aguinn ionpháirte.

7. Gá beag [dom] mealladh meire
ir é an t-anam [m'ainfeire]
mar tá ar a lár a-tú ar-toigh;
an chrú nach lán ar famhail.

8. Tar ceann an cinid dhaonna
re haigneas ní montaodha;
ar gur Muire a-tá torad
lá na n-uile amhladhar.

9. Ní ċreiḋiḋ ḟoḃail ġurḃ eaḋ
maiġḋean máṫair an Ċoimḋeaḋ ;
ḃreiṫ oiḋir Dé mar ḋearbar
ir ḋoiliġ é d'éileaġaḋ.

10. Do ġaḃ ó Ġaiḃṙial aingiol
inntinn naċarḃ éaḋaingion ;
ní ḋearna neamóġ ḋí ag ḋul
an ṙí i meaḋón a ṁáṫar.

11. 'Na teinnṙioṫ a-tá an ċruinne
coiṁlinġ aice ir aguinne ;
ní biam [a-ḃoṙain] i bṙaḋ
ní ṙoṙaiḋ an tṙiall ṫánag.

12. A-tá ar ḋteaċ gan tuṙaḋ ;
ir earḃaċ ar n-áṫuġaḋ
mé do ċoirṙiuċaḋ an ċuil
[ir] ṙroiġṙiuċaḋ é ar m'anmain.

13. Na toṙuiḋ ṫuiteaṙ d'ṙeaḋuiḃ
'n-a mḃun bíoṙ a ngeineaṁuin ;
ṙgṙíoṙ na gcionntaḋ níṙ ċár ḋaṁ
[go ṙár] iompaḋ 'n-a n-ionaḋ.

14. Re hÍoṙa ir ionṙáiḋ dá ċloinn
cló 'gar cuiṙeaḋ 'n-a ḋeaṙnoinn :
" ṙlóiġ an ḋomainṙe tṙe ḋír
do ċóiṙ ṫoṙuiḃṙe ṫéiġḋír."

15. D'éiṙ na cṙoiċe ḋar ċeannuiġ ṙinn
do-ċuaiḋ síoṙ ar ċreiċ Iṙṙinn
ar ṙéiṙne do-ṙoiġne riḃ,
a Ċoimḋe, ar n-éiṙġe it aiġiḋ.

16. Ainic mé, a ṁeic na hóiġe,
cáċ lat an lá ṫionóile
maḋ áil meiṙe ná meaḋaiġ
doḃ láiṁ ḋeiṙṙe, a Ḋúileaṁain.

17. Dá mbéiṙe ag buain do ṫiġe
ḋínn i ndeiṙeaḋ ṁ'aimṙiṙe
do bádar ḋaoine a-tá ar-ṫiġ
lá na nÁoine gor oiġiḋ.

18. [Dod] bpeit péin—ní polái buit—
a Tigeapna, a-tá t'éapuic ;
do-ní mé don óig aigne
cóip, a Dé, dá ndeapnoimne.

19. A Spiopad Naom—naomda an bail—
ad mac tú agup tú it adaip ;
ip cpeidte tú i dtpí pannaib ;
ní bí an cnú 'n-a codcannaib.

20. A Tigeapna na dtpí plóg,
do bí—nip beag dap n-iompód—
an tann do pfomad an fuil
an doman 'n-a capn cpíonuig.

21. I n-uaip agpa na ndaoine
Muipe ag mear a migníoma ;
mópi docap na gcló, a Coimde,
mó pocap ap peadoipne.

22. Cóig cneada 'n-ap coipgead fuil
go ló an bpáit biaid opuib ;
dáil do cpú ní hé áipme
act tú, a Dé, 'n-ap ndeagaidne.

23. Rabad ó pig na cpuinne
d'éip a céile cugainne
taipe 'n-ap gcpoide nip cuip
taipe ap-oile ap ap n-aguid.

24. Dá bpagtap lá a leicte a-mac
na cionta nip cóip d'polac
go noctuimne díob 'n-a dáig
píod ap ap n-olcaibne d'pagáil.

25. A ndeacuid uaid aitpeac lair ;
lá an bpáit ní biam 'n-a héagmair
na daoine i ndóig a n-umla
do póip naoide Naparda.

26. Sealb Patpaic, port na n-aingiol,
puair piad—pa pealb éadaingion ;
bean pa deapa a ndíogal
pear Eaba do haitpíogad.

27. Ceapd liorda do leigeadh dam
fada ó nach fuaradar ceangal
ní fguir [eagar] mar oilteap
ní [feadap] cuin ceangoilteap.

28. A-tá ag an ceapd do cum neam
flaitear ap nach fuil deipeadh ;
ní fuil ir ní fagaim ann
i muig tadhaill acht tamall.

29. Marbadh na mile leanadh
téid Iora ga n-aitneagadh
mar inneal ap uan Muipe ;
truag milleadh na macraidhe

30. Fuair Dia mar do dáil a fuil
domblar aoi tre fíon arfuidh ;
[már í] fa deapa an deoch fearb
[do badh deoch] eadha i n-ifeapn.

31. Do bádar iodail iomda
láim le leaba an tigiorna ;
do feitead an lia far luig
'r nirb feitear ap Dia a déanuim.

32. Gan tarbha i dtagra rut
olc rinn ag riubal cugut ;
gan beit ag fleidh nime ir náir
leib gach a ndlighe, a domnáin.

Olc

Translation

1. O children of Adam, harsh is God's contract made with us and now being urged against us ; its violation by us will mean the condemnation of the hosts of the world.
2. God gets no value in return for the blood with which He redeemed us—this means a sad prospect for us ! His justice will be all the sterner with us owing to those of our ancestors whom He has saved.
3. We put aside our Heavenly garment so that we should have the knowledge of God ; this treachery committed by Eve against her Father was a thing she soon had to repent of.
4. During all the Five Ages no man entered God's House ; till Mary came the time was not ripe for the healing of the world's stress.
5. More terrible than the atonement made on the Cross shall be the ruin in store for us ; had justice been carried out, God would not have come to save men.
6. From the Deluge—O the ruin of it !—eight men alone escaped undrowned ; those among us whom God found worthy of love were told by Him to build the Ark.
7. Is not my state (bad) enough to induce me (to save myself), for my soul is my dearest friend (?) : I resemble a hollow nut ; as it is in its inside, so am I in my interior.
8. No possible pleading for mankind affords any hope ; (but) when all men shall be dumb (at the Judgment) Mary's voice shall be listened to.

9. The Jews believe not that the Lord's mother is a virgin ; yet the birth of God's Son as history tells it can not be refuted.
10. Mary conceived at the words of the Angel Gabriel a great exultation ; the Lord entering her womb left her a virgin.
11. The world is rushing past and we are passing just as quickly ; not long shall I be in the world ; precarious my journey in it.
12. My house is damp ; after settling down in it I am made miserable by the bubbling ooze of my sin (?) ; it sends a constant oozing over my soul.
13. Fruits falling from trees grow up again beneath them ; the destruction of my sins were no harm did not their sprouts grow up to replace them.
14. Christ's children who nailed His hands should say to Him : " It was only two people who made the world's hosts abandon justice in defiance of Thee."
15. From the Cross by which He redeemed us He descended to raid Hell ; even after our revolt against Thee, O Lord, Thou didst still care for us.
16. O Son of the Virgin, O Creator, save me ; when Thou gatherest the world about Thee, refrain from judging me—if Thou really wish to have me at Thy right-hand.
17. If at my life's close Thou thinkest to keep me out of Thy House, (remember that) in that house are many men who took part in Thy death on Friday.
18. The fixing of Thy *èiric*, O Lord, is in Thy own hands—that is inevitable—but I make the Virgin my advocate so that I may satisfy (Thy) claims.
19. O Holy Spirit—holy Thy state !—Thou art the Son and Thou art the Father ; Thou art in three parts, and yet the nut is not divided.
20. O Lord of the Three Hosts, the whole world was a heap of withered wood when Thy sacred blood sank into it ; that sufficed to change us.
21. At the arraigning of the world Mary will (be allowed to) judge of its sins ; great was the pain of the nails, O Lord, but greater the assuagement our sister shall be (to those wounds).
22. The Five Wounds, their flowing checked, shall be seen on Thee till Doomsday ; Thou, O God, must be forgetting Thy blood-shedding to be thus pursuing us !
23. The corpses passing before our eyes are so many warnings sent us by the world's Lord—and yet do not soften our hearts.
24. If I have a chance to get rid of my sins I must not conceal them, so that I may put them away from me, hoping thus to get peace in all my troubles.
25. God is sorry for the folk who abandoned Him ; the Child of Nazareth came to their help, hoping to win their submission ; on Judgment Day we shall show Him that submission.
26. Men had got a right—an insecure right—to the possession of Paradise, that home of angels ; Eve caused them to be punished, and her husband lost his kingly state.
27. A wearisome task have I ; long have I been trying to find a " ceangal " and have failed ; the run of the poem does not come to a finish as it usually does ; I know not when I can finish it off.
28. The Artificer of heaven has a kingdom unending ; I have—I know I have—only a short spell in this passing world.
29. The death of the thousand children, slain as a device to slay Mary's Lamb, was a sad slaughter of little ones ; Jesus goes down (to Hell) to renew His knowledge of them.
30. After shedding His blood, God was given gall in sour wine ; as Eve caused that bitter draught, it will be a bitter draught for her (?) in Hell.
31. Many were the Jews posted around the Lord's grave, and the stone over Him was guarded, but that proved no restraint on God !
32. Sad is our case coming before Thee with only a worthless defence to make against Thee ; not to be at the banquet in Heaven is disgrace, but thou hast what thou deservest, O world.

NOTES

MS : O'Conor Don's Book, pp. 7, 47. Poem is anonymous. Readings departed from are noted.

1*b*. -baiġ 3*c*. haċuiṁ 5*a*. ṗíoċ 6*b*. aṁ iombáċaḋ 7*a*. oa *b*. muinnṫeiṁ Text and meaning of the couplet are uncertain. 8*d*. uṁloṽaṁ 9*c*. oiġiṁ 11*c*. ṗá ṁoṡṙaiṁ *d*. ṗoṙuiġ 12*b*. eaṙṽoiġ aṁ náiṫiuġaḋ *c*. coiṗċ., *leg*. coiṁṗ ? ; um ċ. *d*. iṙ *abest* : ṗṙoiċṗ. Metre uncertain 13*c*. ġcionṫa *d*. ġuṁ ṗáṙ iompa 14*a*. ṁe ċl. (p. 47) 15*a*. ṙin *d*. aṫaġuiṡ 17*a*. mbeiṁṙi *c*. oo bíoṡ 18*a*. oo *d*. noeaṙoimne 20*c*. ṫan ; a ṗuil 21*a*. oaoine 22*d*. *Leg*. iṙ tú ? 24*cd*. ṡíṽ : ṙíṡ 25*b*. bṙáṫ 26*c*. -ġuil 27*b*. bṗu. *c*. éanaċt ; noiṫeaṁ (p. 47) *d*. héoon 28*b*. bṗuil *d*. taġuill 29*cd*. inniol : milliṡ 30*a*. oo *abest* ; bṗuil *c*. maiṙi ; oeoċ *vel* oiġ *d*. ga bú oít Text uncertain 31*c*. luiṡ 32*a*. ṫ. aṫaġṁa

BOHEMIA: CZECHS AND GERMANS

BY PROFESSOR MARY M. MACKEN, M.A.

THE Czech crisis is over. The historic crown lands of Bohemia are partitioned. A German minority of roughly three millions have gone into the Reich, taking with them the Bohemian territory that they had so long occupied. Poles have been returned, with Teschen, to Poland; Hungarians, with a part of Slovakia and Subcarpathian Ruthenia, to Hungary. What is left of Czecho-Slovakia is adjusting itself as best it can to changed political and economic conditions. Soon the world will cease to worry about either Czech or Slovak! Their state was so young that it had not even attained its majority and so newly compounded that it was powerless to awaken in *all* its parts such energies of cohesion as were necessary to resist powerful pressure from within and without.

To the student of history there is much irony in the event. The Czechs, who became in the course of the 19th century bitter enemies of Hapsburg imperialism—and that too in the name of a realistic Czech nationalism more than of any mystical Panslavism—have themselves fallen a victim to disruptive nationalistic forces. They, whose new state was based rather upon a "League of Nations" idea than upon a continuous Bohemian tradition, were abandoned without reference to the Council during an actual sitting of the League! The Powers that abandoned them were those that had been invoked to set them up—France and Great Britain. In the name of a right which had been trumpeted through Europe by President Wilson the sponsor of the baby Czecho-Slovakia, the adolescent Republic found itself threatened by its minorities and by their home-states outside its borders. That was the right of "self-determination of peoples." The Reich that threatened war in defence of the Sudeten Germans and that stood to gain in power-politics by the dismemberment of the young

state was the one that the Czechs would have been least willing to see aggrandized. Indeed Dr. Benes, in his case for Bohemian independence made out during the World War, advanced as an argument for the setting up of Czecho-Slovakia the thesis that it would be a permanent barrier against any German thrust eastwards. The Hapsburgs might have held that dangerous Central Europe pass, but Dr. Benes and his French and British friends had destroyed them. The Reich is the successor state of the Hohenzollerns against whom even the disgruntled Czechs had fought for the Hapsburgs on Bohemian soil in 1866. It is now a state whose head is the proclaimed apostle of a Pangermanism which had for nearly a century been the bogy of the Czechs on their own soil. Against this bogy they had set up the ideal of Panslavism—which, unfortunately for them, they never completely abandoned.

Discriminating foreign friends of the young republic have often asked why the Czechs did not choose in 1918 to revive their historic kingdom instead of creating or inducing the Allies at Versailles to create for them, under the form of a republic, what was in reality a miniature empire. That miniature had all the disadvantages of the old Hapsburg Empire with none of the advantages of its centuries old dynasty, its ancient traditions, its spaciousness and its prestige. Why did they choose " Czecho-Slovakia " when they might have had " Bohemia " and might have conciliated the Germans on what was for both nationalities historic soil ? The Versailles Treaty did not undertake to reunite all Slavs under Czech rule—Poland, Russia and Jugo-Slavia were separate Slav dominions. Why bring in the Slovaks and the Ruthenians to swell the number of Slavs to be set against the Germans of the South, North-west and North of the State ? It is as if we Irish had made propaganda in Wales, the Scotch Highlands, the Isle of Man and Brittany to set up against Great Britain and France, our enemies in the World War—in which we, two, played a brief and divided rôle—a Gaelic-Cymric State. Why antagonise Poland by rounding off a frontier with the inclusion of Teschen which had a predominantly

Polish population and was, incidentally, economically valuable? Or, if they must needs take the Slovaks from enemy Hungary, why give propaganda-publicity to a Czech ideology with which Slovaks could not agree and force them to play, in a state with which their name is associated, alternately the rôle of poor relations or of kinsmen fobbed off with only half a heritage of independence ?

All these may seem to be idle questions and the retort might well be the cliché : It is easy to be wise after the event. But I have come to the conclusion now that, leaving aside the very important question of geographical and strategical position, the weakness of Czecho-Slovakia lay in three directions. Firstly, it lay in the young state's emergence from a war atmosphere and from a treaty dictated to some extent by those triplets—hate, fear and revenge—under whose too lusty activities Europe still suffers. Secondly, it lay in the newness of this composite state, in a certain " on paper " wisdom that it possessed and that had not had time to be put into practice. (I noticed the same quality of theoretical wisdom and " on paper " justice in dealing with minority problems in pre-war Hungary and in a great Hungarian like the late Count Apponyi. It is quite consistent with high public virtues and with striking propaganda abilities—which is disconcerting to its friends and annoying to its enemies). Thirdly, it lay in the fact—which is, in my judgment, of supreme importance—that the leaders responsible for its political evolution, Masaryk and his pupil Benes, furnished it with an ideology which was bound to bring it into conflict not only with its German neighbours (three and a half million of whom were being incorporated against their will) but also with many of their fellow Czechs and Slovaks. I refer to the repeated proclamation in books, pamphlets and speeches, by the Masaryk-Benes group and by their British friends and sponsors, that Czecho-Slovakia was the fulfilment of the Czech destiny and of those Czech aspirations which were to be found embodied in the beliefs, the ethos and the politics of Hussitism. Hussitism as a Czech ideology, as well as the theory which accompanied it of a basic conflict, *irreconcilable*

for all time, between the Czech and the German spirit, derived from Palacky the romantic Czech historian of 1848. The school of thought of Palacky was challenged in the last thirty years by another Czech, Jaroslav Goll and his disciples, the most distinguished of whom was Josef Pekar, himself the founder of a school of history in the Czech University of Prague.

It is indicative of the place which Pekar occupied in the Czech world that he was asked by the Czech Agrarian Party to stand for the Presidency of the State when Masaryk retired in 1935. Pekar's death last year, at the age of 67, was mourned throughout Czecho-Slovakia as a national loss. The sense of the challenge is clear from a Czech History Text Book which Pekar wrote in the pre-war period as well as from a lively controversy which he carried on at that time against Masaryk's political-philosophical theories. He demonstrated from a study of sources that there was no vital connection between the Czech national awakening and the Hussite reform or the work of the Moravian Brotherhood. He showed that the conflict with the Papacy was not an essential trait in the real evolution of Czech history. His inaugural address, as Rector of the Czech University of Prague in 1931, established the purely Slav racial character of Czech culture down to the end of the 12th century—only to insist however, in what he called the Czech Middle Ages from the 13th to the 18th centuries, on the Western German-Latin cultural character of Czech Gothic, Renaissance and Baroque. The address showed the roots of the unity of those centuries in the feudal organisation of society and in the accentuation of the religious problem which even pervaded the structure of the Czech State. It envisaged Hussitism not as a peculiarly Czech national phenomenon but rather as a typically mediaeval narrow sectarianism. What brings him right up against Masaryk and Benes is his recognition of the common cultural heritage of Czech and German in the interpenetration and interdependence of the two peoples in the Holy Roman Empire.

Now there is no doubt whatever that Josef Pekar was a good Czech national and a faithful servant of the young

Republic. His whole life had been devoted to a study of Czech history, and it is a thousand pities for a people like us that the bulk of his work appeared in a language which is not known here—Czech—for we could learn much from a study of his brilliant and well-trained mind and of his fertile methods of research. He was, in spite of—or perhaps because of—his great love of Bohemia, an uncompromising realist. His is an historical realism based, at all times, on an exact study of sources. Whether his theme be the authenticity of the Czech story of St. Wenceslaus and Ludmilla, which had been challenged by the German archivist Bretholz (who, incidentally, knew no Czech!) and which he brilliantly established, or the causes of bad agrarian conditions under Hapsburg administration in 18th century Bohemia, or the last phase of that mysterious and ill-fated Czech genius, Wallenstein, his methods are always and equally striking: a choice of the most critical periods in Czech history, exact study of conditions, scrupulous documentation, careful synthesis of cause and effect. When the young Czech State was in labour in the World War years, there was no more staunch supporter of the national cause than Josef Pekar, though he was then as later equally opposed to the views of the Masaryk-Benes group, with their leaning towards the ideals of Western democracy derived from French Revolution theories, and of the Kramar group, with their insistence on essential Slav-Russian affinities. It is an interesting, if in these days a somewhat melancholy, tribute to his work that, though he had supplied the literature of his country with a paper that assigned the chief responsibility for the outbreak of the World War to Germany, Sudeten German historians of the German University of Prague regard Pekar as the man who had most effectively cleared the ground for the creation of good neighbourly relations with the Germans inside and outside the historic lands of the Bohemian Crown—if only the politicians had followed his lead.

That Hussitism and an anti-German Czech complex as ideal were exploited for abuse and attack by the Third Reich will be remembered by all who listened in to the Chancellor's

speeches in the critical days of September last. It is no answer to the folly of the Czech rulers in supplying Germany with this argument for partition to say that the Reich is racially much more extreme, its ideology much more open to objection, and that anyway it meant to absorb the Sudeten territory. The Czechs had, unfortunately for them, given National Socialism a case. They had, moreover, supplied it with a weapon out of the armoury of the League of Nations and, however cynical may be the belief of the Reich rulers in the reality of self-determination pure and simple, the weapon was, in their hands, powerfully reinforced by an overwhelming military machine of the most modern and most efficient character.

I am far indeed from thinking that the incompatibility claim implied in the Czech idea had no counterpart on the German side in the struggle. The opposite is the case. The history of the Hapsburg State in the 19th century is full of the clash of the two peoples. And, although in the early stages of the Czech renaissance—which owed something to German Romantic theories—Bohemian Germans had co-operated ardently with Czechs in the intellectual field, the moment the movement passed from the study into the forum there was hostility. That hostility showed itself as a clear divergence of interests already in 1848, when Palacky refused to have anything to do with the Frankfurt Parliament and convened an All-Slav Conference at home. It went on increasing all through the electoral and language reforms and the economic changes of the '60s, '70s and '80s. Indeed it grew by what it fed on ; for those changes that emancipated the Czech serf and created a Czech bourgeoisie frightened the Bohemian German bourgeois. They likewise stiffened the conservatism of the Bohemian-German or Germanised Czech landlord. Both bourgeois and landlord saw their ascendancy threatened by this emergence of new forces that were, in the main, racial.

The language question too contributed its quota to the contest ; and language was here a double-edged weapon, cutting into race as well as class prejudices. Czech had

never died out in the Historic Provinces. Down to the 18th century, it was an administrative language side by side with German, in the development of which Bohemia played no small part. The Imperial Chancery, which had such an influence on the formation of New High German, was situated in Prague until Maria Theresa's reign, when it was removed to Vienna. Maria Theresa had been no enemy of Czech, a chair for which she founded in the University of Vienna. But the schools she established throughout Bohemia were German, and her son, Joseph II, had completed the process of Germanisation in the administrative departments by decreeing that all transactions were to be in German. These were rather efficiency than anti-race measures. But when the revival of the Czech idea came with that of all the other nationalities in the post-Napoleonic period, the language question became acute. No praise is too great for the heroic labours of the Czechs in their stubborn fight for language parity in their own domain. But the refusal of the Germans to allow this was equally stubborn, so that the Language Laws became one of the most hotly contested items of the Reforms. In this connection, it is interesting to note that the only Imperial Ministers who ever made any serious efforts to satisfy lawful and reasonable Czech claims at this period were Count Taaffe, a statesman of Irish descent, and Badeni, a Pole—arbitration by non-combatants !

All through this period the Bohemian Germans (whose character had been considerably modified by fresh influxes in the 18th century of German groups who were given concessions on condition that they would establish industries) represented an Ascendancy element approximating in character to our North-East Ulster rather than to the earlier English settler type in Ireland. Like the Ascendancy element here over against the Irish, they were suspicious and contemptuous of the Slav, who was admitted to equality only when he had germanised himself. Like North-East Ulster, whenever there was a question of Czech rights, they are either in complete opposition or they set up against the Czech slogan " Bohemian State Rights " even then the Sudeten cry " Nationality

Rights." Like Ulster, they will not trust an independent Czech Parliament, nor exchange their dominating position in the Empire for one of subordination in Bohemia to what they regard as an inferior race. They are always intransigent. They were in 1866 in sympathy with Prussia against Austria; and when the new Reich was set up in 1871, they were the warmest exponents of a Pangermanism which meant the complete submergence of the Slav by the transfer of the domains of the Hapsburgs to the Hohenzollern Empire. Unlike the Czech Palacky, who in 1848 said that if an Austrian Empire had not existed it would be necessary to invent it, they had no use for that Empire once they saw it shared with Hungary in 1867 and a threatened sharing of it with Bohemia in the years following the Compromise. They were a worry to Bismarck with their desire to be joined up after 1871, and he had to prevent Francis Joseph's plan of being crowned King of Bohemia, knowing well that a secession of the Bohemian Germans might follow upon such an acknowledgement of ancient Czech rights.

All this is not so very long ago, and the parallels with Ireland and Irish politics are clear, though rough. What Dr. George O'Brien wittily calls the "canine" hierarchy or top-dog complex is fairly obvious. The veneer, too, of Ulster loyalty to the House of Hanover did not stand a strain any better than that of the Bohemian Germans to the House of Hapsburg. We remember the Curragh mutiny and the threat in 1913, if the British King should sign the Home Rule Bill, to call in the Kaiser! There were the Ulster gun-running and the Ulster Volunteers. There is in Bohemia no exact parallel to the Ulster "religious" question, though the Bohemian Germans had an anti-Rome complex carefully nurtured by men like von Schönerer. But this was turned not against Bohemia but against the dynasty. And so falls to some extent out of the picture.

If the attitude of the Bohemian Germans to the Czech question prior to 1914 was so uncompromising that the Hapsburg government had perforce to make bitter enemies of its Czech subjects on their account without having the

satisfaction of earning the loyalty of the Sudeten, one can imagine the situation in 1918 when the Czechs had set up, through the agency of Germany's foes, what seemed to the Sudeten to be a miniature Slav Empire in which they were to share with Hungarians the position of a depressed minority ! Their demand to be included in the Austrian area, which was itself trying to link up with the Reich ; the refusal of this demand ; their resistance and its suppression by force of arms ; their politics of non-co-operation ; the many grievances, large and small, which a minority generally experiences at the hands of a race-group that has itself gone through at least one century of conscious and more than one of unconscious frustration ; all these are matters which have been canvassed and recanvassed in the last six months in the European and English Press as well as in numerous books and pamphlets. The situation since 1918 was never easy. It was probably never even tolerable for the dominant classes of a proud and dominating people. Economic crises, tariff walls, self-sufficiency policies in the " depressing " years between 1922 and 1933 added material want to the spiritual and mental strain. War and post-war mentality did not tend to bring rulers and ruled any nearer to one another ; and it is probably true, if not of the actual Government, at least of the local hierarchies that the Czechs did not, before 1933, trouble themselves too much to redress the just grievances of " aliens " who were non-co-operators. After 1933 " Mein Kampf " theories looked like becoming realities, and defensive measures against eventualities—in the shape of the Czech and French Soviet Pacts—were perhaps well-timed but ill-chosen. The Sudeten Germans now had the potential grievance that was actual with the Czechs in the World War—*i.e.* the compulsion to fight against kinsmen in defence of a system to which they felt they owed no real allegiance. It was again the tragic antithesis of Nation and State with which students of 19th century history have become only too familiar.

The fact that National Socialism overflowed the west and north-west frontier into Czecho-Slovakia long before 1933 did not tend to make things any simpler for the Czech Government.

The successive victories of the German Chancellor's policy from 1933 to 1938 emboldened the Sudeten Germans, so that escapes across the frontier into Germany, Treason Trials, suicide in prison, etc., were no unusual incidents in the agony of those years. There were attempts on the part of historians like the Foreign Minister Dr. Krofta—an admirer of Pekar—to find a common basis for intellectual agreement with the Germans, belated efforts at remedying on the spot instead of on paper the grievances of the impoverished areas. But the Czech tempo was too slow for the Totalitarian temper. Then came the Anschluss with Austria. The deliverer or the enemy—it depends on the point of view—was at the gate! When Lord Runciman came to inquire into conditions and possibilities of a settlement after May, it was already too late. His letter to Mr. Chamberlain saw cession of frontier territory as inevitable! He also saw abandonment of "Pacts" as a *sine qua non* for future German confidence in the Republic. He envisaged a permanent German Secretary in the Czech Cabinet to protect the remaining German minority.

All these are now accepted facts. The Czechs have made peace with the Home States of the minorities and are on better terms with their kinsmen in Slovakia. Whether the revised State can balance its economy better by having got rid of the impoverished Sudeten districts—as the German Chancellor ironically suggested to Mr. Chamberlain in his letter of September 27th—I am not competent to judge. The Huss ideology will tend to disappear—and not altogether because Konrad Henlein demanded a revision of the Czech "race myth"! It tended to disappear even without that. As proof of this, those who know would adduce the demonstrations during the crisis and under the leadership of the Archbishop of Prague in honour of St. Wenceslaus. That Royal Martyr-Saint will probably replace Jan Huss. He is as good a Czech and more suitable as a patron for a people the vast majority of whom are Catholic. His story is as racially genuine—as Josef Pekar proved—if indeed that matters in a Saint of the Universal Church. The Patron Saint of Eire is not an Irishman. Yet he has stood us in good stead all down the centuries!

MARY M. MACKEN

AGRICULTURE AND THE BANKING COMMISSION

BY HENRY KENNEDY, M.A., D.SC.

THE Government is to be congratulated on its action in setting up a Commission with terms of reference sufficiently wide to enable it to investigate the entire field of economic and financial activity in the country in so far as it relates to the problems of "currency, banking, credit, public borrowing and lending, and the pledging of State credit on behalf of agriculture, industry and the social services." The result is a volume which should be read by every citizen who takes a serious interest in the economic future of the State. The Majority Report is a monumental document of 369 pages, with 202 pages of addenda and appendices. It is presented with an extraordinary lucidity and facility of expression, and with an entire absence of that atmosphere of mystery with which technicians so often manage to obscure things which are in themselves simple. If only as a clear and simple exposition of the facts on which our currency and commercial banking are based, the document is invaluable to the layman. But, in addition, it turns a cold searchlight on our economic activities and, as a result of its investigations, makes very definite and somewhat drastic recommendations for the future.

The net result of the inquiry is that, while the general financial position of the country is sound, certain tendencies are to be checked lest the financial structure should be jeopardised. The report examines the balance of payments, and in a country in which commodity imports exceed commodity exports by nearly 100%, it finds cause for concern in the "fact that, in addition to the income from capital invested abroad, there are certain income items which must inevitably cease or are in other ways precarious." It emphasises the importance of not impairing the accumulated external assets. It draws attention to the monetary dangers

of increased internal costs and prices, and definitely urges a policy of restriction on expenditure or commitments which would increase the "dead-weight debt." The importance of agriculture is recognised in the following extracts :—

> The Free State is predominantly an agricultural country, which means not only that the greatest portion of the population gains its livelihood in agriculture, but that the main exports to pay for necessary imports are obtained from agriculture. Access to profitable export markets for agricultural products will, in the future as in the past, govern the prosperity and welfare of the main body of the Irish people . . .
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> From the point of view of the balance of payments the home manufacture of many industrial products will to some extent reduce the need of imports ; but as regards raw materials and a whole series of semi-manufactured and finished articles imports will still be necessary to maintain the standard of living within the country. Experience in other countries has shown that an increase in the standard of living involves increased imports, and there is no reason to believe that it could be otherwise in the Free State. So far as exports are concerned, there is very little evidence of any export of products from the new industries which have been established, and there has, in fact, during recent years been a marked decrease in the export volume of the older industries other than brewing. The tendency thus has been to make agriculture increasingly responsible for the maintenance of sufficient exports. (p. 116).

The report, therefore, conceives the position of agriculture as fundamental in regard to the balance of payments, the monetary position, and the possibility of economic and social development. In view of this the cogency of its arguments and the value of its recommendations as to future economic and social policy must be judged by the validity of its conclusions in regard to the possibilities of expanding the export of agricultural products. In this the Report is, in my opinion, profoundly disappointing. The position of agriculture is reviewed and thus summed up : "The Commission can therefore conclude that, notwithstanding the programme for an increase in home production of wheat, other cereals and sugar beet, Free State agriculture should continue to be in a position to export livestock and livestock products without any serious diminution of volume." (p. 37). That is an astonishing conclusion and, because of its fundamental importance in influencing the final recommendations of the

Commission, it necessitates full investigation. It is, in my opinion, completely at variance with the facts : exports could be doubled within a reasonable time—that time depending on the amount of energy and ability put behind the effort. The logical conclusion of the Report is that there is only one way of safeguarding the monetary position and at the same time making funds available for objects that are nationally or socially desirable. That way lies in the full development of our agriculture on the basis of improved technique to meet the special problems of our climatic conditions. It is regrettable that the Commission did not use its high prestige to give a specific direction to national effort towards this end.

In an article in the June issue of " Studies " I drew attention to a number of problems bearing upon the question at issue. There is ample evidence in the Report confirming the conclusions arrived at in that article with regard to the economic position of agriculture in recent years. It is quite clear that the economic position of the farmer has seriously declined, while the tendency has been to put in a relatively far more favourable position those employed in other occupations. In Appendix A attached to the Minority Report No. I the results of Mr. Murphy's investigations of eighty-one milk-producing farms in County Limerick are quoted, the conclusion being that in 1933/1934 an adult unit of non-hired labour on the farm received £40 a year. The comment is made :— " These are appalling results and they are derived at first hand from dairy farms on excellent land," and there is a footnote as follows : " They would reveal considerably worse conditions if scaled to present day prices and costs." Minority Report No. 3 refers repeatedly to the decline in the conditions of the rural population. In view of these facts, it is somewhat naive of the Majority Report, referring to arrears of payment of loans from the Agricultural Credit Corporation, to come to the conclusion " that much of this must be attributed to mere bad habit." The first essential towards any real development in agriculture is obviously to make farming pay. This statement may seem a platitude, but its obvious truth has to be realised if agricultural production is not to decline rather

than advance. The figures referred to above show that in recent years the farmer has been the worst paid member of the community. In any efforts to reconstruct agriculture, it is essential that continuous and widespread economic investigation be made into the profitability or otherwise of farming. Until that is done, agricultural advisers are working in the dark and lending authorities have no rational basis for their operations.

I propose to examine the physical possibility of increasing production and thereby increasing exports of agriculture. There is no evidence that there has been any appreciable increase in the total production of agriculture in this country since the beginning of the century. On the other hand the export of butter from Denmark has doubled from an average of 76,000 metric tons during the years 1901–1905 to a figure of 152,971 metric tons in 1937. The export of bacon and hams has more than doubled from 76,000 metric tons to 181,000 metric tons, and the export of eggs has almost quadrupled from 3,600,000 great hundreds to 13,400,000 great hundreds. The impression is sometimes given that Danish production is obtained, to an overwhelming degree, by the use of imported foods. The fact is that, in the years 1935–1937, of the total food-units used 86% were produced in the country.

The export of butter from New Zealand to the United Kingdom increased from 12,600 tons in 1913 to 147,500 tons in 1937, and the export of cheese increased from 27,000 tons in 1913 to 86,500 tons in 1937.

We have, therefore, a striking increase in production in two countries so dissimilar, while during the same period there has been no appreciable increase in production in this country. These facts surely justify an inquiry into the underlying causes which account for the relative stagnation here. Nobody who knows anything about Western European agricultural standards can say we have reached the limit of efficiency and productivity.

Let me apply two simple tests. The average output per cow in this country—and I don't blame the cow—is less than

400 gallons of milk per annum as against 700–750 gallons in Denmark and Holland. The standard of New Zealand production is about 250 lbs. of butter-fat per cow per annum as against the average of about 140 lbs. here.

The second test is the utilisation of artificial fertilisers—and for simplicity I shall confine the comparison to the two major phosphatic fertilisers, basic slag and superphosphate. The figures are obtained from the latest Year Book of Agricultural Statistics of the International Institute of Agriculture. The actual consumption per annum in this country is given as 16,000 tons of basic slag and 133,000 tons of superphosphate. The table gives the consumption that should take place in this country if it were on the same level per acre as that in the various countries in the first column.

	Basic Slag (Tons)	Superphosphate (Tons)
Germany ..	470,000	188,000
Denmark ..	—	542,000
Holland ..	786,000	269,000
Sweden ..	17,400	230,000
France ..	95,000	180,000
Belgium ..	—	360,000
Italy ..	—	300,000
New Zealand ..	50,000	250,000
Japan ..	—	600,000

In no country would the application of fertilisers yield better results than in this on account of the climatic conditions. These tests should be sufficient to satisfy anybody that there is an enormous field for development. Let me return to the yield from the dairy cow. I said that the cow is not to be blamed. She emerges from the winter period in an emaciated condition. That condition of emaciation of cattle in the spring is the root problem of our agriculture, and until we have solved the problem of cheap and nutritious food for our cattle during the winter, we cannot claim to have progressed

far from a condition of primitive agriculture. Continental scientists inform us that even in dry weather there is a loss of food units in hay-making from the mower to the cow of 40%. I think that, with our high rainfall, high relative humidity, and consequent loss in field cocks, a loss of 60% would probably represent the average in a reasonably good year. In 1937 the export of butter was reduced by almost 25% on the 1936 figure. That reduction was mainly due to specially bad hay following on the wet summer of 1936. It meant an enormous loss, but a loss which is a bagatelle compared with the loss sustained every year by lack of adequate supplies of nutritious winter food for cattle. It would seem as if the year 1938 will be added to the list of bad years, and we can expect the usual crop of losses from malnutrition next spring. It is not generally realised that of these specially bad years there have been almost one in three during the past fifty years.

The loss in hay-making in years like this is deplorable. It can be no exaggeration to say that 75% of the food value of the crop from more than 2,000,000 acres, which is equivalent to the total crop from say 1,500,000 acres, has been lost. I leave it to the reader to put a modest money value per acre on the crop. It represents an enormous figure every year. Some year there will be a major calamity. If lightning kills three cows in a field, it is " news " ; but we have grown so accustomed to starvation casualties in the springtime that they are not " news." In 1925, after a succession of specially bad years, the casualties got some publicity ; but they were all attributed to " fluke," while there is hardly any doubt that the majority were due to starvation.

The greatest asset we have in this country is our forty inches of rainfall. That is what distinguishes our climate and consequently our agricultural characteristics from every other Western European country, and no system of agriculture which does not have primary regard to that asset can fully realise the possibilities of our soil. It is necessary to work with and not against the rain. The rain, with the moderate temperature, makes it possible to grow grass here as it can be grown in few, if any, other places on the earth's surface.

To grow the greatest quantities of grass the land must be manured—vastly increased quantities of artificial fertilisers and lime must be applied. On light land clover must be grown by the plough in a rotation as in Scandinavian countries, but with the exception that potatoes, as our most suitable crop, should replace roots. When we look to the problem of winter food for cattle, we cannot base a progressive agriculture on hay-making. The rain which makes the grass grow makes it impossible to save good hay. I say again, a technical solution of this problem has been achieved in the preservation of the grass in silos according to the process of Professor Virtanen—a process applied by tens of thousands of farmers in Scandinavian and other countries, though in none of these countries except Western Norway is there anything comparable with our problem of hay-making. In that way the enormous losses I have described may be avoided. In that way winter food for cattle, comparable in value to summer grass, may be assured. With adequate supplies of nutritious winter food and allowing for the conflicting interests of beef and milk in cattle-breeding, an average increase of 150 gallons per cow should be attainable. That would enable exports of butter to be trebled. In addition, the application of fertilisers should enable the New Zealand standards of production per acre to be reached. That means more cows and more cattle, and all extra production means so much extra for exports.

It may be objected that, while it may be physically possible to increase exports, it may not be possible to find a market. As far as dairy products are concerned, our contribution to imports into the United Kingdom is not more than 3%. The effect on the market of doubling that would not be more than the effect of favourable or unfavourable weather in the great exporting countries. New Zealand's exports of butter to the United Kingdom market increased from 102,000 tons in 1932 to 147,500 tons in 1937, while our average exports to the United Kingdom since 1932 have been about 20,000 tons per annum. The New Zealand export of butter increased in five years by more than twice our annual export. As regards other products under the shadow of possible quotas our

strategic position, coupled with the prospect of greater import activity which an increase of exports would allow, should be a dominating factor. The Commission itself expresses a moderate optimism with regard to future market possibilities especially for animal products. Referring to the fact that there are no longer any vast tracts of new lands available for an extension of agricultural production, the Report says : " That would seem to improve the prospects of agricultural countries in the old world at the same time as it makes it incumbent upon them to keep abreast in the forward march of agricultural organisation and technique. Future development of agricultural production must be increasingly dependent on greater efficiency and advance in technical methods."

The interests of the individual farmer and the interests of the community as a whole run parallel in this question of increased production, for increased production per labour unit and per acre is the only direction in which to seek a solution of the problem of how to make farming pay. That problem in itself should be examined without delay. If things are allowed to drift, the productivity of agriculture will steadily deteriorate. The Commission in its Report says of the position of the farmers : " But the full effects of the lean years are only gradually becoming visible. There has undoubtedly in many areas been a deterioration in farming methods, a decline in the use of fertilisers, and a slowing down in the acquisition and replacement of machinery " (p. 53).

The serious reduction in the income of the farmer in recent years, coupled with the high cost of what he has to buy for his household, constitutes a major social problem. The solution of that problem, the development of a vigorous and prosperous agriculture, with increased output and increased returns, would go far to solve other problems by the employment created not only on the land itself but in our transport system and in the innumerable other activities ancillary to agriculture.[1]

HENRY KENNEDY

[1] Since this article was written, it is pleasant to record that the Government have decided to set up a Commission to investigate the conditions of our agriculture.

SOME HEROINES: FACT AND FICTION *

BY FRANCIS SHAW, S.J.

THE conflict between the things of sense and the things of the spirit is as old as the fall of Adam. But the seeds of a more acute conflict were sown when God became incarnate. Christ came to bring the sword, a sword of dividing which cleaves cleanly and separates decisively those who are with Him from those who are against. The Christian is divided from the world in which he is, but of which he is not. The conflict now is not only the ancient, inevitable heritage of Adam's fall, the strife between sense and spirit. It is the new fight for the attainment of the Christian ideal; it is a combat, often to the death, against "the world" which rejected and rejects Christ.

This conflict is reflected throughout the ages in the attitude of the Christian towards "worldly" literature. The attitude of the early Christians was of necessity uncompromising. The fourth Council of Carthage (398) considered that even Bishops might not be immune from the danger and decreed: "*ut episcopus gentilium libros non legat, haereticorum autem pro necessitate et tempore.*"[1] Later of course, when Christianity had become more firmly established, a *modus vivendi* was reached. Nevertheless, the more "worldly" forms of literture were very slow to be admitted to baptism.

Yet man by his very nature craves to have his imagination fired with tales of derring-do. When the stock of true stories runs low, the fiction-writer takes up the pen where the historian has left it down. But the early Christians had little need to call upon the writer of fiction. (Actually the apocryphal gospels, with their surfeit of the marvellous, may be considered as the first attempt to provide for Christians a literature of

* *The Society of the Sacred Heart in North America.* By Louise Callan, A.M., Ph.D. Religious of the Sacred Heart. With an Introduction by Rev. Gilbert J. Garraghan, S.J. London and New York: Longmans. 1937. Pp. xiii and 809. $5.

[1] c. xvi. Mansi iii, 952. These decrees were directed primarily against philosophic writings, but they would have applied *a fortiori* to more frivolous matters.

the imagination). Soon the *Acta* and the *Passiones* of the martyrs supplemented the Scriptures, and in these *Acta* there was reading calculated to kindle the slowest imaginations.

In the Middle Ages, when the confessor to a great extent had replaced the martyr, the *legenda sanctorum* took the place of the *acta martyrum*. Unfortunately it is still the custom to deride the medieval Legends and Lives of the Saints. Since the publication of Père Delehaye's *Légendes Hagiographiques* such derision is unpardonable and must be attributed to ignorance. The medieval hagiographers adapted themselves to the taste of their times. When the marvellous was in vogue, they did not stint themselves in supplying what was in demand. But amidst all the wonders, as for example in the Lives of the Irish Saints, one finds a great deal that is instructive in a graphic way and a great deal that is edifying.[1] As Père Delehaye says in the last paragraph of his book: "Their life is, in truth, the concrete realisation of the spirit of the Gospel; and from the very fact that it brings home to us this sublime ideal, legend, like all poetry, can claim a higher degree of truth than history itself." That, however, is a digression. What concerns us here is that the medieval hagiographers did in point of fact write the lives of the Saints in a style attractive to their contemporaries, that they did in point of fact supply a literature of Christian romance and heroism.

A passing glance into the library of the fifteenth century Great Earl of Kildare is instructive for our present purpose. Romantic works in Latin, French, Irish and English are not wanting; but of the sixty or so books listed over one-third are religious in character. The Lives of the Saints figure prominently, especially among the Irish works: "*Saint Kateryn's Lif, Saint Jacob his Passion, Saint George his Passion, Saint Feghyn his lif, Saint Fynan his lif, the Monkes of Egiptes*

[1] The rivalry between the saints and the heroes of fiction is very clearly brought out in early Irish literature, in *Acallamh na Senórach* and in other places. "To the Irish people the saints were the heroes of the new order." Cf. Kenney: *The Sources for the Early History of Ireland*, I, 302. Further, the religious voyage-literature of medieval Ireland may have been intended as a direct counterblast to such pagan works as the *Voyage of Bran*.

lif " etc. In fact more than half of the Irish books are religious.[1]

Later still, in the period of the Renaissance, we find that the Saints are still being set to counteract the influence of the " novelists." Of sixteenth century Spain a good authority writes : " Lives of the saints had a great vogue, and their success was extraordinary. They attempted to satisfy that thirst for the marvellous which was then so strongly excited by the romances of Chivalry ; the saints accomplished miraculous exploits like the ' *hazanas* ' of Amadis ; everybody read them."[2]

As at the time of Lepanto so to-day the world is " full of tangled things and texts and aching eyes." Yet it is probably true to say that there is a greater analogy between the Church in the twentieth century and the Church in the second than there is between the Church in the world to-day and the Church in the sixteenth century. To-day again sincere Christians find themselves set down in a world that is pagan and hostile. Time was when devout Christians hid their sacred mysteries from a mocking world ; to-day, were it possible, they might fain do the same. In many lands at present Christians are persecuted as of old. But nearly everywhere they find themselves in sharp opposition to a materialistic, " this-worldly " culture which is fast ridding itself of the last trappings of Christianity. Earnest Christians must find now more than ever that though in the world they are not of it.

The attitude of the early Christians towards the " *libri gentilium et haereticorum* " was uncompromising. Catholics in later ages found in the heroism and romance of holy lives, presented in an attractive manner, an antidote to the worldliness of Arthur and Amadis. We reflect that this our time is *par excellence* the age of fiction. We consider moreover that in the Middle Ages it was a question of guarding oneself against a romantic literature which, for the most part, erred only in

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[1] Bryan : *Gerald Fitzgerald. The Great Earl of Kildare* (1933). Appendix 2. pp. 268–9.

[2] Hoornaert : *St. Teresa in her Writings* (1931) p. 64.

its over-glorification of natural virtues, of things good in themselves such as courage and chivalry. To-day it is a question of guarding oneself against a "realistic" fiction which is as little concerned about natural virtues and ideals as it is about supernatural ones. To what extent can it be said that the attractive and up-to-date presentation of the heroism of holy persons is keeping pace with the production and consumption of modern fiction?

These thoughts—"be calm; they come to goal at last my wandering wits"—were suggested by the reading of a monumental history of the foundation and development of the Society of the Sacred Heart in North America and Canada. In the eight hundred large pages of this book Mother Callan gives a full account of the many foundations of the Society of the Sacred Heart in the countries mentioned from the beginnings in the year 1818 down to the present day. The work throughout is founded on first-hand sources, mainly letters and journals now in the archives of the Society. These sources have been handled in a scholarly way with sound judgment and a good sense of proportion. The book is obviously an important one for the history of education in North America. Incidentally it casts much interesting light on the great American prelates of the last century. Naturally, as the history is brought up to the present day there are pages in it which, while they have their value as historical records, will be of interest chiefly to the initiated—to the *alumnae*, that is, of the schools in question.

This history of the Society of the Sacred Heart in North America is then a sober and scholarly work. But there is in it a heroine, the Servant of God, Mother Philippine Duchesne who, at the beginning of the last century, left home and fatherland to devote her life to the Christian education of young whites, blacks, half-castes and Indians in frontier towns along the Mississippi and the Missouri. The thirty-four years which she spent in America till her death in 1852 are full of the glamour and hardships of frontier life. Testifying in 1935 to the heroicity of her virtue the present Holy Father spoke of her as "suffering to the full extent of human

endurance amidst hardships and accumulating difficulties that would have discouraged even the strongest human will."[1] Her life was one with the single-mindedness and steadfastness of unfailing devotion to an ideal.

And here is the contrast to which I wish to draw attention. Another woman, a creature of imagination it is true, lived in the same surroundings and in the same century. Her life was aimless with the shifting inconstancy of self-seeking. She was jealous and cruel, " self-willed, vain and obstinate." She " could never endure any conversation of which she was not the chief subject." She but rarely thought of God, and when she did, her prayer was an ultimatum ; indeed " religion went no more than lip-deep with her." There was in her life but little to edify and less to inspire. Her name was Scarlett O'Hara. Yet one would like to know just how many of the Catholics who have followed, through the thousand or more pages of *Gone With The Wind*, the chronicle of Scarlett's ignoble life have ever even heard of the splendid heroism of Philippine Duchesne.[2] The number, I venture to think, would be small. Whether the fault lies with the Catholic reader or with the Catholic writer is a matter for discussion, but that there is something wrong somewhere is, I think, clear. It is particularly evident in view of the fact that the sales of the modern " best-seller " are now reckoned by the hundred thousand.

Certainly the history of the foundation of the Society of the Sacred Heart and the story of its spread in North America—and it is an example that could easily be multiplied—is not lacking in the elements of romance and heroism. Mother Callan's book is a quarry from which the stones of inspiration might be hewn.[3]

In France, at the end of the eighteenth century, a small group of holy priests, the Fathers of the Faith, were awaiting

[1] Callan *op. cit.* p. 723.

[2] It is not suggested that Margaret Mitchell's *Gone With The Wind* is a book without merit. The picture which it gives of plantation-life in the Southern States before, during and after the Civil War is a fine piece of work. It suffices for our purpose that the " heroine " of the book from start to finish is an incarnation of selfishness and worldliness.

[3] For the following pages I have drawn, not only from Mother Callan's work, but also from Erskine : *Mother Philippine Duchesne* (1926) and from other standard sources.

the day when they would be able to enter the restored Society of Jesus. In the mind of one of these priests, Père de Tournely, was conceived the idea of the Society of the Sacred Heart. At his death he confided the idea as a sacred commission to his companion, Père Varin.

About the same time, in the little town of Joigny in Burgundy, a young girl was getting as strange a schooling as a young girl ever got. Louis Barat, a brilliant young ecclesiastical student, having completed his sacred studies ahead of schedule, had been sent to his native town to profess philosophy and theology in the neighbouring seminary. Not content with teaching the seminarians, he undertook the education of his little sister. In the garret of the house which now became her study Madeleine was put systematically through the course prescribed at the seminary. A careful grounding in the Latin and Greek classics was followed by philosophy, theology, history and mathematics; the study of modern languages was permitted by way of recreation. Later Père Barat, now a priest, brought Madeleine with him to Paris, put her under the care of an elderly lady, and added an extensive reading of the Fathers to the curriculum. But Louis Barat was not only Prefect of Studies and Professor to his sister, he was also her spiritual guide. With relentless firmness and severity he trained her in ways of holiness and self-denial.

Père Barat had in the meantime joined the Fathers of the Faith, and Père Varin was still seeking for the foundress of the society of Père de Tournely's dream. By accident one day Père Barat mentioned his "little sister" to Père Varin. She was then twenty years old and was about to enter Carmel. Père Varin learned of her unusual accomplishments and piety. A meeting was arranged. Madeleine was brought forward for inspection. Père Varin saw before him, attired in the dress of a Burgundian peasant, "a very delicate-looking, very reserved, very shy girl." He said to himself: "What a foundation-stone!" And yet it was upon her that God willed to raise the edifice. Within a year the Society of the Sacred Heart had been founded.

Meanwhile, away in the south-eastern corner of France, in Dauphiny, another young girl was being moulded by the strange ways of Providence. At the age of seventeen, in spite of the opposition of her parents, Philippine Duchesne had entered the convent of the Visitation in her native Grenoble. While she was still a novice, the convent of Sainte Marie d'en Haut was suppressed and Philippine returned to her home. There she spent ten years filled with apostolic activity and the daily prayer that the convent might be restored. Through family influence with the government she at last succeeded in obtaining her wish. The convent was restored ; but, by a strange mistake in the formalities, it was given back not to the Superioress nor to the Community but to Philippine herself. She owned the convent in which she was a novice. She strove immediately to induce the former community to return to the delapidated building. Some few returned, but for a short time. Philippine, however, remained. There Mother Barat, summoned from Amiens by Père Varin, sought her out. After a journey of six hundred miles, on a bleak day in December 1804, the twenty-four year old Foundress of the Society of the Sacred Heart climbed the hill to the convent of Saint Marie d'en Haut. The novice-owner of the convent, compelled by a sure instinct, came forth from the shadows of the old vaulted hall and prostrated herself full-length at the feet of the astonished Saint Madeleine.

Thus began a life-long friendship. But, from her earliest years, Philippine Duchesne's heart had been fired with a desire to devote herself to the missions. Fourteen years later she got her heart's desire. The Bishop of what was then the diocese of Louisiana and the Floridas begged Mother Barat to send her religious to open schools in his diocese. The Saint chose Mother Duchesne to lead the small band of five to begin the work. Like the old Irish saints, Maedoc and Molaisse, " their backs they forthwith turned on one another, but not their hearts."[1]

Crossing the Atlantic in 1818 was not the pleasant trip that it is in these days of ocean-greyhounds. The *Rebecca*

[1] Plummer : *Bethada Náem nÉrenn* I, 199.

took some seventy days to reach New Orleans. The little ship tossed for a week in the Bay of Biscay, and the captain, seeing in the nuns the Jonas of the ship's ill-fortune, apparently contemplated throwing the good women overboard. But the virtues of the religious broke the barrier of hostility, and soon both captain and crew saw in the little band the pledge of their safe arrival. To the fact that the crew evidently confided their woes to the sympathetic Mother Duchesne we owe our knowledge of that medically interesting ship's cook " three of whose ribs had caved in as a result of seventy years of service."[1]

A brief stay in New Orleans was made pleasant by the hospitality and great charity of the Ursulines, a charity which in a very welcome form was continued for many years, when to their needy fellow religious up country the Ursulines sent barrels of sugar and rice and raisins, and cases of preserves and cod. Then began the work of the first foundations in Missouri and Louisiana. Fortunately for us the nuns were good letter-writers and faithful keepers of house-journals. The letters are often masterpieces of the lost art of letter-writing, though some of them, as we know, for want of a table were written on the lid of a kitchen-pot. They are full of most interesting details. The journals and account books, too, preserve to us much valuable information and occasionally the record of a minor tragedy: " Father Richard ate no breakfast," or the means taken to avert a major one: " *wiski pour une malade*, $12\frac{1}{2}$ cent."[2]

The first years were certainly years of privation and travail. I must pass over the horrors and hazards of the frequent river-journeys on the Mississippi and Missouri, when the steamboats were, in the words of Mark Twain, " all whistle and no boat " (they had perforce to stop whenever the siren was sounded); boilers had an unpleasant habit of bursting; being stranded for weeks on a sandbank was a frequent inconvenience; and the boats seem to have been the happy hunting ground of deadly fevers.

[1] Letter of M. Duchesne from New Orleans, 1818.
[2] Erskine *op. cit.* p. 205; Callan *op. cit.* p. 223.

Already in the noviceship the religious had shed "the worldly manners and affected speech of former days";[1] one of them at least had shone at the court of Napoleon. But they had now to turn their hands to unaccustomed tasks. "We dig in the garden, carry manure, lead our cow to drink and clean out its tiny stable."[2] They rose at four in the morning, summer and winter, in order to complete the matutinal farm-duties in time to leave an hour for prayer before Mass.[3] The first convent-schools were literally log-cabins; one of them measured eighteen feet by eighteen. A single room in one of these Academies for Young Ladies had "to serve for parlour, portry, class-room, dormitory, refectory, and pupils' infirmary . . . the other room, a mere garret, is both kitchen and community room; all sleep on the floor."[4] The community was often saved from hunger by a providentially good yield of apples. In one house the apples from an overhanging tree used to drop through the roof and were stored automatically in the attic.[5] "Our cow," writes Mother Duchesne, "only supplies enough milk for our three pupils and for Mother Octavie, who presides over their meal." At times even water was lacking: "one must live from day to day and stint even drinking water"; and again: "we have had the happiness of doing without bread and water."[6] Even beggars refused the black bread which was the nuns', not the children's, fare. Intense cold increased the sufferings of the pioneers; they had no saw to cut firewood, but were fortunate enough to possess a hammer and knife with which to break the frozen milk for the children.[7]

Balancing the budget of the Academies, as distinct from the free-schools for the poor, must have been at times a ticklish business. "Payment (of fees) was made in an interesting variety of forms: in currency . . . or in miscellaneous items, such as a measure of flour, a load of wood, a sack of corn, a table valued at four *gourdes*, a cheese, six pounds of butter, three dinner plates and a bucket of water, some

[1] Callan *op. cit.* p. 36.
[2] Letter of M. Duchesne from St. Charles, 1819.
[3] Callan *op. cit.* p. 101.
[4] Letter of M. Duchesne from Florissant, 1819.
[5] Erskine *op. cit.* p. 208.
[6] Letter of M. Duchesne from St. Charles, 1818.
[7] Erskine *op. cit.* p. 222.

measures of sugar, two turkeys, a day's work in the garden (by a child's father), help with the washing (by a mother)."[1] Indeed the scholars themselves were as varied as the forms in which the fees were paid. Some were, like Scarlett O'Hara, the pampered daughters of prosperous planters and slave-owners. Some indeed were distinctly unladylike in their habits. Mother Duchesne's journal tells us of " one girl . . . who swore like a demon and smoked like a man."[2] Others were timid, untamed little Indian girls, who at the approach of an unfamiliar visitor fled the school-room and, Tarzan-like, took refuge in the near-by trees, from the foliage of which they peered down like squirrels at the newcomer.[3] With such scholars mere differences of language and the almost total absence of text-books were but commonplace difficulties.

Over all those early years the double scourge of cholera and yellow fever cast its almost constant shadow. There were terrible days and weeks in those little frontier schools when the sick nursed the dying and heroic sacrifices were made to save the children from infection or death. At times, too, cyclones, floods, earthquakes, fire and wolves, and the minor plagues of grasshoppers and boll weevils helped to make life difficult.

But the greatest trial of all was the apparent failure of the work, that " total lack of success in our labours "[4] of which Mother Duchesne wrote. Want of chaplains—the nuns were often deprived of Mass and the Sacraments for long periods—lack of funds, dearth of workers, fewness of pupils, unsuitability of the location of some of the foundations, all these and a thousand other obstacles hindered progress. But the good work went on. Confidence in God and humility, unceasing prayer and self-denial triumphed over failure. Cheerfulness, zeal and great charity made little of staggering labours. The " abject, dependent, despised poverty we embrace as being that of Jesus "[5] made these religious women

[1] Callan *op. cit.* p. 232 said of St. Charles in 1828.
[2] Cited by Connelly in article on Mother Duchesne in *Month*, 1898, p. 614.
[3] Callan *op. cit.* p. 109.
[4] Letters of M. Duchesne from St. Charles, 1819.
[5] Idem, 1818.

to rejoice in their privations. Like Paul and Patrick and so many of the saints of God, their great-hearted leader sighed even for martyrdom.

It is surely inspiring to read in a letter of Mother Duchesne the casual mention of a pain she had had for some years which "was sometimes so intense that I was tempted to apply some remedy."[1] Hearing of her ill-health and of the poverty of the religious, her brother sent word that he would send her the money for her return journey to France. Her intrepid reply was to invite him "to pay with that sum the passage of two more religious coming from France to America."[2] Such was the spirit of this *mulier fortis* who lived in a cupboard beneath the stairway of her convent so that her nightly vigils of prayer might remain hidden from her subjects. Another of the first small band of five, Mother Octavie, who was gifted with exceptional beauty, found time amidst her schoolwork and farm-labours to pray God to take away from her the gift of comeliness He had given her lest it prove a hindrance in her work. When in fact disease soon effected what she had prayed for, she rejoiced in her suffering and humiliation.[3]

The daughters of Saint Madeleine certainly fought against what she had called "feminine pettiness and the softness inherent in our age."[4] Yet for all that they were human and ever remained so. They were certainly loved by their pupils, and the frequent tear-sheddings on the banks of the Mississippi must have helped to swell that Father of Waters. But the palm for good spirits goes to the young Irish nun, Mother Xavier Murphy of Cork, who joined the mission only four years after Mother Duchesne had arrived. Her letters and journals, written in English with a liberal interlarding of French phrases, are always bright and often witty. She got on well with everybody, and was equally at ease with bishops, sea-captains and her fellow-religious. She, who had been reared on the banks of the Lee, found the Mississippi at New Orleans "so narrow" that she was quite unimpressed.[5]

[1] Erskine *op. cit.* p. 353. [2] Erskine *op. cit.* p. 227. [3] Ibid. p. 315.
[4] In circular letter of 1826 cited by Callan p. 245.
[5] In letter cited by Callan p. 128.

On the journey across the Atlantic, which had terrified Mother Duchesne, Mother Murphy was quickly at her ease. "I was sick at times, but never the least bit afraid. Mother Lucile [her lone companion] was simply frightened to death, and sometimes I could not help laughing at her exclamations of terror. She invoked every saint in the calendar and at times jumped from her berth to pray with arms extended in the form of a cross, begging mercy from heaven, but I was too sleepy to act the part of Aaron."[1] Nor did her humour desert her in the trials that awaited her. After the entry "No Mass" made some years later in a journal she adds: "But the just man lives by faith, which is indeed the only nourishment congenial to this climate." Her life, too, was perfected by the cross. "Every privation has a *je ne sais quoi pour moi* in this cherished land of my adoption."[2] Although she claimed to have become "completely Americanised," she did not forget altogether the land of her birth. The news of Catholic Emancipation cheered her exile, and she expressed her joy that this freedom had come to the "sons of Erin." She was quick, too, to claim fellowship with the great Catholic, Mullanphy of St. Louis.[3] Mother Murphy ruled the convent of Grand Coteau, Louisiana, from 1825 until 1836. In the summer of that year she contracted fever. Knowing that she was about to die, she "regulated all her accounts and made all arrangements for the distribution of prizes."[4] When, after a fortnight of intense suffering "endured with heroic patience and utter abandonment to the will of God," she died, Mother Duchesne wrote: "My death would have affected no one, but how will she be replaced?"[5]

For want of space we must pass over in silence the story of the work of Mother Duchesne and her companions among the Potawatomi tribe in Indian territory; this mission was begun in 1841. It is a story at once consoling and tragic; consoling in the simplicity, docility and splendid faith of the Christian Indians; tragic in the painful clarity with which,

[1] Callan *op. cit.* p. 126. [2] Erskine *op. cit.* p. 252.
[3] Callan *op. cit.* p. 138 and Erskine *op. cit.* p. 315.
[4] Letter of senior religious at Grand Coteau at the time of Mother Murphy's death, cited Callan *op. cit.* p. 147. [5] Erskine *op. cit.* p. 325.

incidentally, is revealed the hopeless struggle of the Indian against the greed and perfidy of the white-man.[1]

To the frontier towns of the Mississippi and Missouri—where, in the words of Mother Duchesne, " immorality prevailed like that of savages " and the youth in religious matters at least were in " a deplorable state of ignorance "—these pioneer religious of the Society of the Sacred Heart brought the light and inspiration of Christlike lives. Failure seemed to be written across the face of their enterprise ; but their sacrifice and heroism were not vain. A soil that had been harrowed so deeply could scarcely fail to yield a good harvest. " There is but one pedagogue of the human race," says Clement of Alexandria, " He who calls Himself the Shepherd," and the greatest force in Christian education is the living example of a Christlike life. The failure of the work of Mother Duchesne was indeed more apparent than real. For soon, inspired by the example of their saintly teachers, the young daughters of Creole settlers and of Irish planters felt the love of Christ grow within their hearts. In some that love grew so strong that at the call of Christ it proved powerful enough to break the ties of home and family, to conquer " the national feeling that manual work was for the slaves."[2] These young girls " who had been reared in plantation luxury, pampered, amused and waited on by slaves "[3] turned their backs on the glories of the barbecue and the ball-room, and chose instead " the abject, dependent, despised poverty . . . of Jesus." They threw in their lot with those who " had the happiness of doing without bread and water."

Their sacrifice crowned the work of the pioneers. Already in 1830, that is only twelve years after Mother Duchesne had come to America, the work of education in six foundations was being carried on by sixty-four religious of the Society of the Sacred Heart. Of these only fourteen had come from Europe ; the remaining fifty were American. Mother Duchesne had said : " You will see that when I am dead, everything will

[1] Callan *op. cit.* Chap. IX pp. 271–313 The Mission among the Potawatomi Indians, 1841–1879.

[2] Journal of M. Duchesne cited by Erskine *op. cit.* p. 208.

[3] Callan *op. cit.* p. 490.

progress." Her words were prophetic. In spite of the turmoil and disturbance of the Civil War, the Society in North America grew quickly. To-day it counts in North America and Canada over twelve hundred religious who are educating some nine thousand pupils in thirty-three schools and colleges. Splendid work in higher Christian education and Catholic Action is being done especially in the Maryville, Manhattan and Duchesne Colleges. The Society of the Sacred Heart in North America has long since become itself in turn a mother, sending forth children to other lands—to Australia, New Zealand, South America, China and Japan.

Others are now reaping where Mother Duchesne and her pioneer companions sowed. The early years of penury and privation have long since passed into history. But the memory of them is still an ideal to inspire and a light to guide. Such deeds as these years witnessed are not ephemeral. The upheaval of a civil war may mark the end of a prosperous and pleasure-loving generation. But, unlike the petty intrigues and jealousies of self-love, which vanish as surely and as quickly as the physical beauty about which they are so often concerned, self-sacrifice and unflinching devotion to a worthy ideal are things that last for ever, not things that have "gone with the wind."

Francis Shaw

THE PROBLEM OF PARTITION

BY PROFESSOR MICHAEL TIERNEY, M.A.
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IN a recent rather callous work of political humour the states of Europe were classified, from the standpoint of a hardboiled pair of English authors, as consisting of a Buffer State (France), two Rougher States (Germany and Italy), a Bluffer State (Russia) and a number of Duffer States, among which Ireland and Portugal were conspicuous. The grounds for our relegation to this defective category must be self-evident to all but ourselves, for they are not stated in the book. Whether or not we deserve to be so cruelly classified, we would at any rate not demur to find ourselves on the wrong side in another fashionable division. Ireland is definitely one of the Have-Nots, a very minor member of that list of unsatisfied powers the larger among whom are able to attract so much attention by their formidable heavings and growlings. In a catalogue of the world's grievances the partition of Europe's oldest nation and the continuous oppression, in a carefully-selected area, of a fragment of the majority thus artificially made subject to a minority are surely entitled to rank as high as the thwarted desire of a local aristocracy, stranded by the collapse of the Empire which created it, for incorporation in another Empire of which it had never formed a part.

I

Not only the agitation over the Sudeten problem with its dramatic conclusion, but the inner logical necessities of Irish politics have made it inevitable that the question of partition should just now become again a prominent issue. Some of the more pompous organs of the English Sunday Press have let it be known that they are not amused by Mr. de Valera's *Evening Standard* interview. Even on Olympus it should by now be fairly understood that Mr. de Valera's actions obey laws which take the conveniences of English policy only very little, if at all, into their scope. In point of fact his démarche was far more the result of local Irish causes than dictated by a perverse decision to use yet another English

difficulty for Ireland's advantage. At the present moment, politics in this country are in the doldrums. To paraphrase Eva's message to Raymond le Gros on her husband's death, the great tooth which troubled us so long has been swallowed at last. We have got rid of Document No. 2 by incorporating it in our constitution. The result has been to lessen, at once and enormously, the divisions upon which, unfortunately, our party system has been built up. From the narrow viewpoint of party politics, this lessening is a danger; opposition is the fuel upon which party politics are kept going. From the national point of view it represents a renewal of opportunity. And the opportunity coincides with the point of danger on this very question of partition.

A fresh and powerful campaign for ending partition has the double advantage that it meets a constant national aspiration and at the same time gives the Fianna Fáil party a new objective and a new slogan. It is to be sincerely hoped that it will not be used for the latter purpose; for the task of breaking down partition and reuniting Ireland is too big for any single party. The chances of success for such a campaign will depend entirely on the extent to which it can create a genuine unity of purpose behind it. Mr. de Valera may, on the Irish scale, equal the performance of Herr Hitler on the European; but if he is to do so, he must bring into play forces hitherto concealed or unharnessed. Herr Hitler's diplomacy was one more example of the fact that what counts in power-politics is blood and iron. Mr. de Valera has no leverage upon which to rely at all comparable with the German air-force. Only the unremitting determination of the whole people, skilfully directed and kept at white-hot intensity, can bring any result at all; and even such a determination, if it found expression only in speeches and propaganda, might well fail to make any impression either in England or in Belfast.

II

The fact is that in present circumstances, with every prospect of continued European peace for some years to come, there seems to be little wisdom in the effort to raise

the partition question by way of a sudden short campaign, which must inevitably be expected to produce quick results and will inevitably produce disappointment. A speedy and spectacular victory, on the lines envisaged in Mr. de Valera's interview, would, even if conceivable, create more problems than it could solve. The essence of the whole partition question is not merely the physical incorporation of the Six Counties into an Irish state but the spiritual assimilation of their people into the Irish nation. As Mr. Frank MacDermot has from his own point of view seen and stated, there arises behind this question again the further question : what exactly do we mean by Irish nationality ? Do we mean simply the negative content of nineteenth-century political agitation, which would be better named Hibernian than Irish, and which owed most of its strength to ideas borrowed from the Ascendancy ? Or do we mean the new Gaelicism, which is to all intents and purposes Hibernicism translated into Irish ? Or has our frequently-claimed possession of an Irish native culture any more meaning than a piece of political fireworks ? Unless it has some positive meaning, unless it implies another way of life more suited to Irish people and Irish soil than anything English or half-English could be, then we have nothing to which we can assimilate anyone, and our demand for the physical incorporation of the Six Counties is a purely physical demand.

Indeed it may well be said that so far we have signally failed to assimilate that element among our own people which for so long stood where Belfast stands to-day. The Big House may have lost its old significance, but it still contains the only social " upper class " the country knows. We are apt to boast about our classless society, but this is to ignore the vacuum which is gradually being filled with Hunt Balls at one end and profiteering dance-halls at the other. It is as much the lack of any social system or tradition in our countryside as economic pressure that is driving our young people into exile. In our cities, suburbanity, the thin and colourless conventionalism of the puritan or post-puritan petty bourgeoisie, is if anything now more dominant than

formerly; and it constitutes the ideal towards which the more well-to-do in country districts, with the help of the motor-car, the wireless, and the cinema, are incessantly on the march. When the medieval Normans became more Irish than the Irish, they were not adopting a form of culture which in all its essential features was theirs already. Would the political union of North and South in present circumstances confer any real benefit on either party? Supposing Mr. de Valera's scheme to have been adopted, its effect on the South would simply be to reinforce the Anglicised commercialism which is already too strong among us, while our only gift to the North would be our own peculiar brand of shallow political nationalism, a matter more of slogans and sporadic violence than of real spiritual or intellectual purpose and direction. No doubt this will seem absurdly pessimistic to those to whom nationalism is a purely nervous and muscular activity; but its truth would very swiftly become apparent in the improbable event of such a union being brought about.

III

The problem of partition is in reality two problems, the elements of which it would be well to keep separate. In the first place and most urgent stands the ill-treatment of Catholics in the North, whether acute, as for instance during the Eucharistic Congress of 1932, or chronic, as in their perpetual exclusion from political or professional preferment. On both counts the case for redress is much stronger than if it were based only upon elementary fair play. The Catholics in Northern Ireland are wrongly called a minority. They are in reality a part of the great majority of the Irish people, which has first been artificially segregated so as to subject it to a small minority in one area, and secondly so redistributed in respect of political power that its subjection has become a grotesque tyranny. One has only to refer to the position in Derry city, where the Catholic majority, who should on any fair system of election control the Corporation, have been assigned seats on a local basis so arranged as to make them a permanent minority. The result has been and is that

a Catholic in Northern Ireland is not much more favourably placed than a Jew in Nazi Germany. While not theoretically disfranchised, he is so in effect by the operation of party government and the electoral system; his existence is on sufferance, employment is constantly denied him merely because of his religion, and now and again his womenfolk and children are put in danger of their lives by the fanaticism of an organisation which functions as perhaps the most effective part of the government machine.

The other aspect of the partition problem is that created by the existence of a powerful Irish nationalist sentiment both within and without the Six Counties. That this sentiment is fed upon and justified by the exclusiveness and tyranny of the "Protestant government for a Protestant people" cannot of course be denied. Apart from this, as I have tried to suggest, it is a sentiment at once shallow and to a certain degree at war within itself. It has little positive cultural content, and historically speaking represents an uneasy fusion between the republican and separatist tendencies of a section of the eighteenth century Protestant Ascendancy and the vague traditional antipathy of the common people to English rule in any form. Under the influence of European nineteenth-century nationalist movements it acquired a degree of superficial unity which hid its cultural barrenness under varying disguises, from a kind of vague liberalism and a tendency towards the left in social matters to a romantic and unreal identification of Republicanism with the ancient Gaelic culture which is now almost entirely dead. By far the most urgent Irish task at the moment and for a long time to come is the task of substituting for this hasty, superficial, and uncertain propagandist creed a solid cultural foundation upon which the native Irish society of the future may grow and flourish. Until this truly gigantic work is done the Irish nation-state will neither have internal certainty of direction nor power to assimilate or attract elements now separated from it both physically and spiritually.

In a sense it is unfortunate that we must use the very equivocal and questionable term "nation," with its political

and ideological colouring, for the ideal towards which we must struggle or perish of inanity. This is no matter of facile political formulas, which can be easily changed and which have no more than an emotional content as apart from the hard realities of effective self-government. It has very little to do with convulsive efforts at an illusory economic self-sufficiency or with the humanitarian materialism which, in striving to improve the lot of the poor, is rapidly spreading over the countryside the evils that have taken root in the industrial town. We assume too readily, as a result of our contamination with the continental nationalism so often condemned by the Popes, that the parliamentary institutions miscalled democratic are in some way native to our people or somehow express our ultimate political and social aspirations. It is at last beginning to be apparent our necessities lie deeper than all these things, and that having them all we are still far from expressing our traditional character as a people, recovering continuity with our historic past or laying foundations for a distinctive contribution to the civilisation of the future. Until we have consciously and thoroughly set about the creation for ourselves of native institutions—social, political, and educational—which will favour the growth of a native culture, we cannot hope for any real or satisfactory solution of the partition problem. There will be far more likelihood that Belfast will assimilate us than that we shall assimilate Belfast.

IV

These considerations, if they are at all valid, lead directly to the conclusion that we had better not be in too much of a hurry even if hurry could bring us anywhere. An alternative, which has been much discussed, to Mr. de Valera's proposal for a Belfast Parliament subordinate no longer to Westminster but to Dublin, is the proposal for a plebiscite to determine whether parts of Northern Ireland which have a nationalist majority shall be transferred to the sovereignty of Éire. This proposal has the demerit, which is considerable, of being accompanied by no plan for putting it into effect. It can only be acted upon with the consent of the British government,

and to that consent the recalcitrance of Belfast will continue to set up a very formidable barrier. Supposing it to be practical politics, it would probably result in the restoration to Eire of Tyrone, Fermanagh, South Down, South Armagh, and Derry city, and leave outside the jurisdiction of the Dublin government not much more than half the present Six-County area. In such an event it is highly unlikely that the Belfast parliament could continue to function as at present. The untransferred territory might be administered as an English county with perhaps a slightly more extended form of local government, but without the status or authority now enjoyed by Lord Craigavon and his ministers. There is very little doubt but that such an arrangement would be a considerable improvement in the lot of the large body of Catholics who would remain in and around Belfast. They would still, of course, have grievances, because even in England perfect equality is not always to be found, and their state would inevitably be subject to later adjustment; but they should unquestionably enjoy relief from the worst injustices that now oppress them.

Critics of this proposal have tended to take the rather mystical view that it would make partition permanent. The answer to this is that the permanence of partition must always and of necessity depend on the will of the Irish people. Without their consent, partition, no matter what its form, will be subject to revision if and whenever circumstances are favourable. Any new European crisis, any fresh difficulties about defence, would at once throw even such an adjustment again into the melting-pot, and the final absorption of the Belfast area would be really, as before, a matter of Ireland's strength and capacity to absorb it. There would be even an advantage in the fact that future negotiations must be conducted between the Irish and the British governments without the intervention of the phantom of Northern Ireland and its pseudo-sovereignty. We are often told that the Unionist minority who have been artificially given power over their fellow-citizens in the Six Counties never wished for a separate parliament. It can be said with equal or perhaps even greater candour and sincerity

that the Irish people as a whole never wished for the present arrangement. Its termination would mean also the ending of the Unionist party dictatorship and of the tradition of sectarian politics. We might then see before long the union of all parties in the still separated portion of Ireland for its return to its rightful place in its own country.

The great advantage of such a change as is contemplated by this proposal would be that it would truly represent the facts without their being distorted by the existence of a government which apparently nobody wants. The facts are that there exists in Belfast and the surrounding area a population which at the moment prefers by a majority to belong to Great Britain rather than to Ireland, and that successive British governments have not merely fallen in with the wishes of this small section in another country but have presented them quite arbitrarily with a far larger area in that country than they have any claim to and are supporting them in their miniature empire over this arbitrary territory with English money and English armed forces. The question is frequently asked by Englishmen friendly disposed to Ireland: "What can we do? You must settle this Irish problem for yourselves without our intervention." The trouble is that they *have* intervened already and continue to do so. English Catholics in particular, who take this Pontius Pilate attitude towards the partition question, might well ask themselves whether they are bound by any principle of justice to maintain in Northern Ireland a British army which looks on while Catholic women and children are being stoned, or to pay for a police force in which Protestants are deliberately organised to keep Catholics in subjection. If they wish genuinely to keep the ring, let them do so; let them withdraw the British army and British financial backing from Northern Ireland, if necessary guaranteeing the area against military or other aggression from the south. At any rate, while present conditions are allowed to continue, no nationalist or Catholic Irishmen can see in this attitude of alleged impartiality anything but the subtlety in defence of an advantageous *status quo* which has so often earned for England the charge of hypocrisy.

V

There is a third possible proposal for dealing with partition, which while less spectacular perhaps than either of the two mentioned, may have in it more hope of actuality. So far the dispute has proceeded on the assumption that the only interest of Ireland in its lost northern province is the interest of the cat in the bird it is eager to swallow. The Six County bird has protested vigorously at the idea of its being swallowed; and its English keeper, while holding its cage carefully locked and out of the cat's way, has pretended to take no interest in either party. Supposing it were to be admitted by the government and people of Éire that they are in no hurry to swallow the Six Counties or even to diminish their territory, but at the same time their right were strongly asserted not only to protect those of their own people who happen to reside in that area against religious persecution, but also to share with Great Britain the ultimate financial and military control over what is after all a very important part of Ireland? The difficulties that lie in the way of any assimilation of the Six Counties by Éire, even if all opposition in the physical sense were removed, have been already pointed out. What is needed is rather a tolerable basis for a healthy transition period than any sudden conquest or forced adhesion. There is no derogation of Irish claims involved in the admission that circumstances, internal as well as external, make the present an unsuitable time to seek their full satisfaction.

Two things, however, are both urgent and in the minimum sense just. One is the right to have some say in the protection of our fellow-countrymen against violent and notorious persecution. The other is the right to share with Great Britain the powers which she now exercises in virtue of the "loyalty" of the Unionist majority. If she has any title to these powers except sheer force, then surely the native government of Éire has the title to a share in them not only by virtue of its duty to protect the Catholic minority but also by virtue of its indefeasible claim, admitted in the Treaty of 1921 and once more stated in the Constitution of 1937, to at least formal sovereignty over the whole territory of Ireland. The imple-

mentation of this title need require no more than a slight disturbance in existing arrangements. Instead of the reserved services being administered by the British government as under the Act of 1920, they could be administered by a joint commission equally representative of both countries and containing also perhaps a spokesman for Northern Ireland. The powers of the Belfast parliament could be left as they stand, and the financial and military responsibilities of both parties to the commission could be arranged on some proportional basis. Such a settlement would not of course entirely satisfy Irish aspirations, but it would at least provide a tolerable framework upon which something better could later on be fitted. It is less than Mr. de Valera's demand, but for that very reason perhaps more practicable. What might appeal most of all about it is that it would secure some chance of fair-play for all sides while penalising none.

If, as seems certainly the case, our only hope of success lies in winning British public opinion to our side by reasoned argument and peaceful persuasion, then such a claim to the minimum of fair-play would seem to have by far the best prospects of all those outlined. It would have the further advantage that as it contemplates no change in the present status of Belfast, it need cause no intensification of dispute between Irishmen. On the contrary, by uniting nationalists on a moderate and at the same time far-reaching policy and by emphasising the essentially cultural aspects of the desire for Irish reunion, action on such lines as I have indicated would in itself be productive of benefits even irrespective of its unquestionable ultimate success.

MICHAEL TIERNEY

CAN IRELAND REMAIN NEUTRAL IN WAR?

BY COLONEL J. J. O'CONNELL, M.A.

IT is related that one day early in 1918 Marshal Foch entered the Conference Room at "G.Q.G." and found a number of senior Staff Officers poring over a map of the Western Front. His greeting was: "Alors, les stratèges, que va faire le Parti bleu?"[1] And, assuredly, at the time the initiative lay with the 'Parti bleu'—the enemy. Similarly in Ireland last September public opinion, for once in a way, was thoroughly roused—even, indeed, perturbed—at the probable imminence of a general war; and, on this occasion also, it was freely conceded that the 'Parti bleu' had the first move. At the present time, although for the moment danger has been averted, there is no guarantee that a situation like that of a few months ago may not recur in the more or less near future. It will not, therefore, be unprofitable to consider possible courses of enemy action. That is one means of preparing to counter it—for it will always be a matter of countering.

I

One thing is quite certain: the longer war is postponed the more vulnerable Ireland will be, if once involved in it. It may be said that the vulnerability is bound to grow in geometrical progression by reason of the continuous advance of technical science—mainly as applied to air-war technique. In this connexion, it is clear that the wars of to-day are affording ample opportunities to experiment with new materials. Thus: "The small German air-force detached to Spain includes a 'research' group for testing, under active service conditions, the first samples of each new mark of aeroplanes."[2]

The 7,000-odd mile Egypt-Australia flight of three British

[1] 'Parti bleu' (Blue Side) is the French technical term to designate the enemy in manoeuvres, war games, etc.

[2] Gen. Armenzaud: 'La Guerre d'Espagne: Technique et tactique des forces de l'air.' *Revue Militaire Générale*, April 1938.

Service bombers is fresh in the memory of everybody. It is, accordingly, quite evident that Ireland is now well within the possible sphere of action of any military power of the first rank, should that power deem the action in question worth while. And this is precisely what is to be examined. It was the invariable habit of Moltke—the uncle, that is to say, not the nephew—when making a similar estimate, to assume that the enemy would "do the right thing." And, from the other point of view—*i.e.* the defender's—the "right thing" would be the course calculated to inflict the maximum degree of damage. If this is provided for, so *a fortiori* is every lesser menace. We shall assume, then, that enemy effort will be maximum, if it is exerted at all. But, before analysing what form the maximum effort would take, it is desirable to examine the likelihood of being able to escape it altogether.

II

In assessing our chances of staying out of a general war, it will be well to confine ourselves to physical and material considerations: there is no reason on earth why pious aspirations—unsupported by anything more substantial—should be any more effective a protection in our case than they proved in the case of Abyssinia or China; and we must remember that even the excellent Czech army proved inadequate when left without support. It is, therefore, questionable whether Ireland could for an indefinite period remain neutral in any major war in which Great Britain was involved. Even if we assume that neutrality was declared by the Irish Government and that at first all the belligerents were prepared to recognise such neutrality, the inevitable course of hostilities would result in Ireland's being drawn into the vortex. Let us see why.

It is certain that—exactly as happened in the War of 1914–18—England would greatly increase her purchases of food and certain other commodities in Ireland. The enormous military gain from quicker delivery, the easier protection of cargoes, and the tonnage thereby liberated would certainly direct English activities in some such direction. Nor is it

likely that the Irish producer would be inclined to forgo the pecuniary advantage thus offered to him. He did not do so on the former occasion, and there is nothing nowadays to indicate that he has changed his outlook. On the contary, his ostensible needs are now more numerous and varied and the urge to get ready cash is correspondingly more insistent. The Irish producer would therefore endeavour to sell and to keep on selling.

It would, consequently, be a serious military advantage for England's adversary, whoever he is, to cut off the Irish supplies to England ; and he will certainly strain every nerve to do so—just as he will strive to cut off supplies from the River Plate, Canada, Australia or Persia ; and he will deliver his attacks with the most appropriate instrument and at the point likely to afford most effective results. During the Great War England's enemy could employ only submarine warships, and his activities were in consequence restricted to operations in the Irish Sea and its two entrances. He was hardly in a position to *concentrate* against purely Irish-originated trade. Especially in the two entrance sectors—the North Channel and St. George's Channel—there were other targets more easily attacked. The case to-day is very different. The Air Arm, which was quite undeveloped even in 1918, has now arrived to reinforce and co-operate with the submarine.

The problem under review is very general—in the sense that anyone of a great number of powers might be the potential enemy—America, France, Germany, Italy, Japan, Russia. The probability of conflict and the offensive potentiality would differ widely in each case ; but this would be a difference of degree only, not of kind. For every one of the six named potential adversaries the objectives would be the same—*i.e.* (*a*) to sever England's western communications ; (*b*) to launch attacks against England from this western flank. In each case Ireland would be utilised as a sort of advanced base from which these moves could be initiated. In view of what has just been said of the hostile aims, the rôle of Ireland is obviously easy to diagnose. That rôle will be to *frustrate* the adversary—in other words, to prevent him from securing such utilisation

of Irish terrain and situation as would enable him to sever England's western communications, or to launch attacks against western England, or both.

Lest it might be thought that the latter contingency was altogether fantastic, it will be of interest to quote the following extracts from *Germany, Prepare for War*—published in 1934. This work is the English translation of *Raum und Volk im Weltkriege* by Professor Ewald Banse, professor of Military Science in Berlin University. Incidentally, it may be remarked that the Professor—except in the solitary respect of military aptitude—has not much to say about the Irish that is complimentary :—

> Ireland can only acquire greater importance if there is a hostile army in occupation of South-East England and it becomes essential to back it up by invading the western midlands—*i.e* the industrial Liverpool-Manchester areas—from Ireland. If this, the most densely populated and highly industrialised part of England, were once gripped as with a forceps from the West and the South-East, England would be pretty well finished. . . . If conquered, it [Ulster] might be used as a starting point for an attack on the densely populated Glasgow district of Scotland, which is quite close and of great importance from the point of view of war industry. Even if such attack were carried out only by a small force, it would have the effect of keeping considerable portions of the army busy up in the north, until a decision was reached further south.

III

As, presumably, nobody in Ireland any longer questions the physical possibility of the country being air-raided, it is not necessary to do more than point out that this is a definite form of attack on communications primarily. All centres of such will be subjected to repeated attacks. Later the communication net-work will be considered—*i.e.* the target will be described.

In marked contrast to the widespread interest aroused by the possibility of aerial bombing—forced home by dint of numerous examples—there is another potential air danger that has not attracted any attention at all—*i.e.* the possibility of actual *invasion* by air. This is now not merely beyond the stage of theory—it has been actually done two and a half years ago. The Spanish Civil War started this way in

July 1936. If General Franco's movement was to have any real chance of success, it was first of all necessary for him to transport at least some seasoned and reliable troops into Spain. And all such that he had at his disposal were in Morocco—with the enemy possessing local command of the sea at the time. Franco brought his men across by air—an operation for which his resources were meagre enough: all the planes he had of a suitable type were a dozen or so Italian and German three-engined machines. By means of these he brought over 6,000 men in the first fortnight and in the first month 13,000 men and 500 tons of war material.[1]

By far the most impressive and instructive example of Air Troop-Transport up to the present time was that carried out last May during the Italian manoeuvres in Lybia—in which, by the way, only 200 aeroplanes took part. In all 10,000 men were landed in rear of the 'enemy' in the course of the day. These consisted of two infantry brigades, two batteries of light artillery (2.6 in.), and a squadron of motor-cyclists. "After the scouting planes had fixed on the most suitable landing-ground in rear of the enemy, transport planes brought two parachutist battalions over the locality in question. These landed, and meanwhile fighter planes cruised high above to cover their descent. The two battalions immediately proceeded to occupy covering positions in order to protect the landing of the main body following them."[2]

Now, while 10,000 men and a few light guns might not constitute a very serious threat to either side in, say, a Russo-Polish war; the same force landed unexpectedly at an important point in a small country presents a totally different problem and might prove very awkward indeed to dislodge. It may be assumed that the first task assigned to the transport planes 'returned empty' would be to fly out again with extra supplies. This part of the problem, indeed, is now a mere matter of routine in all great air forces. The Italians have reduced 'le ravitaillement par parachutes' to a fine art—having special material for landing as much as two hundredweight in this manner in a single load.[3]

[1] *Army Quarterly*, Jan. 1938.
[2] *La France Militaire*, 29/6/38.
[3] *La France Militaire*, 24/8/38.

An aerial invasion of the kind just described must be clearly distinguished from the mere parachute-landing of a demolition party. It would be as different in aim and scope as in the strength of the effectives employed. The design would be to seize and hold a suitable aero-naval base with a sufficiently extensive and defendable hinterland. During the World War there were numerous examples of this method of action—*i.e.* the occupation of a weak neutral's territory as a base of operations. For example, Corfu and Argostoli were occupied to hem in Austria ; Salamis to curtail Bulgaria ; Lemnos, Imbros, and Tenedos to close the Dardanelles ; Castelorizzo and Ruad to dominate the shores of the Levant. It was also decided, in case of extreme necessity, to seize a base in Norway to close the North Sea.

The West Coast of Ireland affords many suitable bases of a similar character. Broadly speaking the stretch of coast from Belmullet to the Shannon estuary is the most suitable. Any position north of Belmullet, such as Killybegs, would be too near Lough Swilly ; any position south of the Shannon, such as Valencia, would be too close to Berehaven. Besides, the Connacht sector is more centrally placed, and *one* position here would suffice to dominate both the northern and southern trade routes. The hinterland is everywhere unusually well adapted for defence with comparatively limited expenditure of men and material. In addition, the Shannon, some fifty miles inland, constitutes a serious handicap to the defenders' communications and would be, in fact, a sort of covering line to the invader seeking to establish a pied-à-terre. The invading force could come by submarine, by aircraft, by surprise raid of swift vessels, or by a combination of all these. Advanced parties could be flown on to the great lakes—Conn, Mask and Corrib ; and the bridges over the Shannon could be attacked by heavy bombing machines.

IV

Before considering communications *inside* Irish territory strictly so-called, it will be desirable to touch briefly on those passing beyond—*i.e.* crossing the Irish Sea—for, evidently, it

is the terminals of the Irish land routes leading to that sea which will constitute the main objective of bombing attack. Other points on the routes in question are subsidiary to these, which are three in number. Geographical conditions on either side of the Irish Sea impose three points of entry and departure—Belfast, Dublin, and the Wexford—Rosslare—Waterford region on the Irish side; the Clyde, Mersey and Bristol Channel on the other. All others are subsidiary to one or other of these. The main traffic routes cross directly in each case, but are criss-crossed by less important diagonal routes. There are, in addition, coastal lines north and south on each side. Finally, there is the quite distinct oceanic traffic coming in by the two entrances.

Now, corresponding to each of the Irish terminal points, there is a system of Irish land routes converging thereon. Of these landmarks the railways are—despite their present economic plight—infinitely more important than the roads as regards carrying capacity. In any event, roads and railways alike have a main East-West lie: they tap the resources of the country—or the material landed at Atlantic ports—and convey them to the three focal points evenly spaced along the East coast—those focal points that, as we have seen, would be the main objectives of attack.

When enumerating the lines of communications converging on the port areas, only the railways need be referred to—remembering that everyone of these is paralleled by a main road. The secondary roads are too numerous to consider—nor is their carrying capacity very great. Each of the eastern port areas has, broadly speaking, two western correspondents: thus Belfast has Derry and Enniskillen; Dublin has Galway (with branch to Sligo) and Cork; Wexford-Rosslare has Limerick and Mallow. And, in between, there is an abundant linking-up system.

Now, apart from the vital terminal centres, the vulnerable points along these communication lines are those at which they cross obstacles—which, in the present instance, are those rivers with a north and south course. Even a quite cursory glance at the map will show us that there are two

lines of such. Most of the routes cross both lines and are thus doubly vulnerable. In some cases, moreover, the destructions could be so serious as to be virtually regarded as permanent—*i.e.* certain to last as long as hostilities continued.

The first of the transverse lines intersecting Irish East-West communications is formed by the rivers Foyle, Erne and Shannon. One or other of these rivers is crossed in each case by bridges of appreciable dimensions—and correspondingly vulnerable. The second transverse line consists of the Lower and Upper Bann, the Boyne and the Barrow—affording a second series of weak links in the chains. There are, of course, several additional points of the same kind—notably along the Cork Blackwater ; but as far as a schematic picture is concerned the two north-south river lines suffice to cover all the ground.

There is, however, one last and very vital line of communication yet to be mentioned—the great East Coast lateral line : Belfast-Dublin-Wexford, linking together the terminal points of the three east-west traffic routes. This is, in point of fact, the only through north-south route in Ireland ; and, as such, it is an important link in the system as a whole.

V

Taking them one with another, these weak meshes in the Irish communications net can be attacked in various ways—without prejudice to employing *all* where the conditions are suitable. The various types of attack might be placed in order thus :

(*a*) Aerial bombing, which is applicable to all,

(*b*) Demolition by landing-parties (sea or air)—at once more difficult to achieve and more satisfactory where possible.

(*c*) Bombardment from the sea. It seems centuries since the *Emden* exploded the oil-tanks at Madras !

But the essential matter to stress is that a *comprehensive attack* is perfectly possible and that such an attack can be satisfactorily countered only by a correspondingly *compre-*

hensive defence. This may not be quite clear at first blush: so it is no harm to refer back to the most recent example experienced in Ireland.

When, in the middle of the World War, a striking event like the sinking of the *Lusitania* forced home the vital need for unified control to combat hostile naval measures off the Irish coasts, Admiral Sir Lewis Bayly was offered the post of C.-in-C. Coast of Ireland on July 22nd 1915. With a clear grasp of all the implications, "He took pencil and chart; then, with Queenstown as a centre, drew a circle which included the Scillies, Milford Haven, Irish Sea, North Channel, and all the waters round Ireland inclusive of the base at Berehaven. 'If I can have command in that circle,' he stipulated, 'and if you will give me a fast cruiser, I will go to Queenstown.'"[1] It is worth recording that Admiral Bayly retained his very unenviable command for three and a half years—*i.e.* right to the end of the War.

Evidently if a single command was necessary to effectively combat naval action *around* Ireland, it is much more desirable when the hostile action contemplated is *inside* the country—whether it takes the form of bombs dropped or of men. The effective military defence of Ireland demands unity of military control in Ireland. But into this delicate matter I cannot enter.

J. J. O'Connell

[1] E. Keble Chatterton's *Danger Zone*, p. 66.

FUNDAMENTALS OF PHYSICAL SCIENCE *

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DURING the nineteenth century the mechanical view of the universe gained strength and became an article of faith with most men of science. Galileo, Newton and others had discovered the laws of motion of massive bodies. All material bodies were considered to be made up of minute particles, the atoms, which also obeyed these laws. Light was regarded as a wave disturbance in a medium, the aether, which filled space. This medium was thought to be a fluid, the particles of which also moved in accordance with Newton's laws of motion. The whole material universe was therefore believed to be simply a collection of particles which possessed the properties of ordinary lumps of matter. Since every particle moved in accordance with Newton's laws, the future history of the universe was exactly determined once the positions and the velocities of the particles at a given instant had been ascertained. This was held to lead to determinism in philosophy and to the denial of free will.

During the present century this classical theory is breaking down at point after point, and is being replaced by new ideas based on fresh discoveries and theories that appear at an ever increasing rate. Matter and light are now explained away in terms of electricity or multi-dimensional geometries. "There is now no such thing as a body in space, but matter is an aspect of the space-time structure," say Veblen and Whitehead. The material aether has gone (yet few are clear whether it is only the name that has gone). The ultimate constituents of matter and of atoms are electrical particles like the electron, proton, positron and yukon, or neutral like the neutron. These ultimates do not obey Newton's laws of motion rigorously, and they do not seem to be always particles. It is in the nature of things that their position and velocity at any instant cannot be exactly determined : there must be always a certain uncertainty. The particles can never be directly observed. Only effects characteristic of such particles can be detected. The distribution of these effects is not, however, what we might expect from such particles. Rather, it is what might be expected from a distribution of wave intensities, in which the chance of an effect appearing is proportional to the wave intensity. Further, waves for two

* *Electromagnetics. A Discussion of Fundamentals.* By Alfred O'Rahilly, Professor of Mathematical Physics, University College, Cork. Foreword by Professor A. W. Conway, F.R.S. (Cork University Press. London : Longmans. 1938. pp. xii+884. 42s.).

or more interacting particles are not waves in ordinary space: they are waves in imaginary space of many dimensions. The future history of the world is no longer determined by the laws of nature. A given state of things may be followed by a variety of events, and the laws of nature appear to have been designed so as to allow of guidance from outside without any violation of the laws. The new ideas are not yet in final shape, but we are assured by Prof. H. A. Wilson in *The Mysteries of the Atom* that "determinism has definitely gone, so that the idea of free will is no longer untenable."

It is admitted that the new science and its derivatives, the various cosmogonies, are not easy to understand, and few protest lest "what cannot be understood might haply be true." A great part of the difficulty in understanding is attributed to the technique of discovery, which is mathematical. The fortuitous historical course of development and the devious paths followed by physicists are also in part to blame. But the main difficulty lies deeper and appears to be due to the confusion amongst physicists themselves concerning the relative importance of observation and invention in experimental science.

In a recent discussion[1] concerning the relative fields of physics and metaphysics, and the relations of mathematical speculation to experiment in the study of natural phenomena, Prof. Dingle champions the cause of the inarticulate many who sigh for a return to reality in physical science. His unrealist targets, the leaders of science, are bemused Kantians, Hegelians or even Fichteans, who would deduce particular conclusions about the universe from *a priori* general principles, substitute invention for observation as the foundation of science, and by reason, apart from sense, dictate the course of experience. Victims of the great "Universe" mania, they suffer from "paralysis of the reason combined with intoxication of the fancy," and Einstein's theory of relativity appears to be the innocent cause or occasion of their malady. (Father McEntegart queries the term "innocent" and notes that the alleged hallmarks of relativity recall the saying of Whitehead: "The history of science is strewn with the happy application of discarded theories."). Einstein is also held responsible for the virility of the principle that the unobservable is not significant and, accordingly, is not to be included in our theories. Jacques Maritain at once convicts Einstein of confusing the meaning of a concept with its use in a particular discipline, while Prof. Ehrenfest says roundly: "To believe that physical theories can be made without metaphysics and without unobservable quantities is a disease of childhood." Prof. C. G. Darwin hails the principle as "one of the greatest revolutions in scientific thought," while the distinguished mathematician and

[1] See *Nature*, *139*, 784, 1000, 1025, and works of authors quoted.

spectroscopist, Albert Eagle, describes the ' great idea ' as ' inherently idiotic ' : " It requires us to surrender our common sense for the sake of an arbitary dictum which Einstein and his followers have raised to a fetish." Dingle concludes : " Those who, like Maritain and Eagle, see the principle as an example of presumption arising from ignorance, are realists. The physicists and philosophers who accept the principle are idealists." The idealist invents a universe for himself as he goes along, while the realist believes in a " universe existing independently of his thought and examination of it."

Dr. Harold Jeffreys further distinguishes between naive and critical idealists and realists. He agrees with Dingle's statement of the position and thinks the source of the trouble can be traced to many people believing there is some special virtue in mathematics whereby it alone has any meaning, whereas some of the best pure mathematicians say that mathematics itself has no meaning. For instance, Russell describes mathematics as " a subject where we do not know what we are talking about, or whether what we are saying is true." Mathematics is really a tool for dealing with arguments that are too complicated to be presented without it, and its function in science is to connect postulates with observations. Its successes, since the days of Galileo, in analysing relations between empirical data and in exploring the implications of speculative theories, have so impressed the mind as to lead to dangerous intoxication and worship of intricate symbolism, says Prof. H. Levy. The present situation is not met by merely reiterating the Galilean basis of science or by falling into the error of identifying physical science with the whole of science. The proper function of mathematics and its attendant speculations must be considered. Mathematics, essentially an instrument of discovery, must work on something, and that something must be extracted from the experience of men in the objective world. The trouble first shows in the mathematician dealing with ideas that are *apparently* divorced from an empirical background. The mathematician starts with *given* assumptions, convenient to himself and his mathematical equipment, and does not inquire whence they come. The Professor's answer, after analysis, is essentially contained in the first part of an old principle : *Nihil est in intellectu quod non prius fuerit in sensu.* He concludes that mathematics is an instrument designed to test sets of data for their logical consistencies and inconsistencies. In exposing the latter, it reveals the deficiencies in the original data and thus gives an urge to further experimentation.

Prof. Filon welcomes the protest against the tendency to proceed from abstract and universal *a priori* mathematical theories and the tendency to reduce all science to pure nominalism. He considers that, judging by much of the scientific literature that gets published nowadays, something has gone wrong with the crushing machine which

used to crush hypotheses in the solitude of the study. Dr. N. R. Campbell recognises two kinds of physicists, those who experiment and those who theorise : the experimenter proceeds by induction, the products of which grow by accretion ; while the theorist devises theories to explain laws, and his explanations are subject to fashion. As a result of specialization, the two activities which were formerly united in one person are now distinct : hence the present confusion. According to Prof. J. B. S. Haldane, most experimenters are inarticulate. He contrasts the five British Nobel prizemen in physics—Barkla, Bragg, Richardson, Rutherford and Thompson—with the writers of the most widely read books on science in England—Russell, Eddington and Jeans. The last three are first-rate mathematicians, but Russell and Jeans have never published the result of a single observation of nature, much less of an experiment, while Eddington, though a great observer, is not a great experimenter. Hence their attitude towards science is inevitably different from that of the laboratory worker.

A German point of view is presented by Prof. J. Stark, President of the Physikalisch-Technischen Reichanstalt, Berlin-Charlottenburg, who distinguishes between the pragmatic and dogmatic spirit in physics. According to Prof. Stark, the pragmatic spirit is directed towards reality and seeks to find out the laws governing known phenomena as well as aiming at new discoveries. If the observations made with the apparatus chosen do not confirm the initial conception, based on all previously ascertained facts, the pragmatist rejects it and seeks stimulation from experience for a fresh conception leading to new experiments. The pragmatist does not consider mathematically formulated theory as an end in itself : it is merely a summary of knowledge gained from experience or a tool for deriving special cases from experiential general laws. The physicist of the dogmatic school operates in a different manner. He begins with arbitrary definitions of relationships between symbols, to which general, and therefore physical, meaning can be ascribed. By logical and mathematical operations he combines them and obtains mathematical formulae. He seeks to give these a physical significance by applying them to the results of experiment. He emphasizes any agreement and makes it appear that it is by virtue of his theory that the results of experience have been established. Experimental results unaccounted for by his theory, or in contradiction with it, are doubted or considered unimportant or ignored. The impression is conveyed that the theory exhaustively covers the whole range of phenomena treated by it. For the pragmatist, physical research evolves from what has been established to new experimental knowledge : for him there is no classical or modern physics, but only physics. The goal of the dogmatist, however, is the dogmatic formula, and the dogmatic spirit leads to a crippling of experimental research

and to an effusive tedious literature. Lenard and Rutherford are instances of the pragmatic physicist, while Einstein, Schrödinger, Born, Jordan, Heisenberg and Sommerfeld are dogmatists. The physicist of the pragmatic school finds his satisfaction in obtaining new knowledge and trusts it will serve as a step towards new advances : he does not " advertise " in order to gain fame, authority and influence. The dogmatist, however, almost before his revolutionary theories have been published, has a flood of propaganda started for them by articles in journals and newspapers and by lecture tours, if possible right round the world. " Older physicists will probably still remember with what pertinacity propaganda was carried on all over the world and before the widest public for Einstein's theories of relativity."

Prof. A. S. Eve, in reply, seeks to " avert strife and discord by an examination of the true state of affairs." He praises the virtues and good deeds of both pragmatist and dogmatist and considers their respective contributions to progress by instancing examples, in the history of science, of remarkable chains of which successive discoveries are the links. He considers how the theory of relativity arose. " The test experiments of Michelson, Morley and Miller had failed to indicate the swift motion of the earth through the aether, and it was necessary to revise Newtonian mechanics and to bring them into harmony with electromagnetic theory. The efforts of Fitzgerald, Larmor and Lorentz indicated a road which, extended and widened, enabled Einstein to enunciate his great principles of special and general relativity." He concludes that there may be different avenues of approach to " reality " but that all should be thrown open. All prejudices should be set aside in the determination that the rule of reason and the law of liberty shall prevail throughout the realms of science.

Dr. Jeffreys holds that generalisations from experience cannot be made with certainty, apart altogether from the principle of uncertainty. An infinite number of laws would fit any finite number of observations, and a particular law can be selected from this infinite set only by applying a new logic based on probability. The laws known to us at present do not fit observations exactly, and it is unnecessary to assume that laws can be found which do. Prof. C. G. Darwin, in his address to the British Association at Cambridge this year, also claims that physical science can no longer be fruitfully developed or understood by the normal reasoning processes of traditional logic. Formal logic suited the world of the nineteenth century with its hard outlines, but " the real live branches of modern physics call for reasoning different from Aristotelian syllogisms." He admits the compelling power of the syllogism and of rigorous mathematical proof, but he suggests that when a subject is brought down to these terms, the simplicity is illusory because only the easy parts have been retained and the difficul-

ties have been concealed or ignored. Similarly, theories often possess illusory simplicity through the manner of their presentation. A theory starts as hypothesis, facts are accumulated in support of it, and someone finds a set of axioms, postulates and indefinables from which the theory may be logically derived. Direct derivation of conclusions and applications from an axiomatic basis has an attractive simplicity, but the axioms are believed in only because the theory is believed in, for the axioms are just a convenient condensation of a wide field of information. Thus, when some years ago a fundamental contradiction in the quantum theory was pointed out, the contradiction was ignored because it was felt that the quantum theory must be right. Similarly, when Dr. Dayton Miller with improved technique repeated Michelson's experiment, on which Einstein based his theory, and found that the aether drift did not vanish, the theory of relativity was not rejected because a crucial experiment was no longer believed in. The test of a scientific theory is twofold, according to Dr. Campbell. It must be generally accepted by men of science, and it must give a certain intellectual satisfaction. It follows from these criteria that the acceptance of a scientific theory is largely a matter of taste and depends on the appeal the theory makes to the leaders of science in a particular age. It would seem that some theories are accepted nowadays because they give intellectual satisfaction and aesthetic pleasure to eminent mathematicians, who by the charm and the delightful persuasiveness of their writings dominate science, while the laboratory workers keep busy but inarticulate in their narrow specializations.

Prof. Haldane, in discussing the attitude of mathematicians towards science, recognises that there is a technique for thinking scientifically about matter, but he regrets that there is none to enable scientists to think scientifically about science. Father W. McEntegart and Prof. G. Dawes Hicks suggest that scientists might find the required technique if, in the spirit of true science, they disregarded the traditional taboo and discovered what metaphysics is. They point out that no experimenter aiming at scientific knowledge can dispense with philosophy. The absence of a sound metaphysical foundation will vitiate all attempts to rationalize observations. Some serious acquaintance with the peripatetic philosophy, which is a rationalization of experience firmly keyed to reality, would have a sobering effect on the "Universe" fabricators. The treatment of relativity by Sir Arthur Eddington and other writers is found unsatisfactory, not because they approach their theme from a philosophical point of view, but because the system they adopt so often evinces itself as unworkable. Finally, their theory of knowledge leaves trained philosophers gasping. Miss Stebbing remarks in *Philosophy and the Physicists* that "every scientist turned philosopher tends to find support, in his special studies,

for the metaphysical theory which *on other grounds* he finds attractive."

The author of *Electromagnetics*, a trained philosopher and theoretical physicist by profession, would consider that philosophy, mathematics and physics are distinct departments of knowledge which should not be negligently mixed into a cocktail, with a drop of pseudo-mysticism added and labelled science. The confusion produced by much of modern "science" is precisely due to this careless mixing. It is not the business of modern physics to "prove" idealism or establish the doctrine of free will any more than it was the business of nineteenth century science to "prove" materialism or determinism. Philosophy, mathematics and physics operate in different planes and regard reality from different angles. Each is equally valid and each is capable of giving us a true angle on reality. Philosophy deals with transcendental attributes, deductively. Mathematics is also deductive mainly, but it concerns itself only with quantity, that property of matter which remains when we take away all the attributes of a body that are accessible to the senses, that is to say all the qualities. The fundamental characteristic of quantity, which makes it unique, is that quantities can be added and subtracted but cannot be intensified or diminished. Complex mathematical operations are reducible to addition and subtraction, and additions or subtractions are operations which are *immediately intelligible*, whether done "in our heads" or with the abacus. Mathematics is a shorthand language in which the rational laws of addition and subtraction of quantities (and compounds of these processes, general quantitative relations) stand out clear and compelling. It is a deductive science, because it deals with concepts that are in themselves intelligible, so that when the formal object has been defined, the definition can lead to new propositions by the aid of pure reason and without further recourse to experience. This is feasible with algebraic expressions and geometrical figures, but not with atoms and electrons. We cannot get new information about atoms and electrons by examining our definitions of them, for our definitions are merely descriptive and do not contain the intrinsic connections required for a deductive argument. Physics perfects itself by experiment rather than by refining its definitions: it is in the main an inductive science.

How then can mathematical physics render service to the physicist? The question is discussed and the solution presented by Henri Poincaré in *Science and Hypothesis* and by W. R. Thompson in *Science and Common Sense* and *Science Progress* (130, 343). The qualities, which diversify bodies and lead to the investigations and codifications of the scientist, can be "translated" into quantitative "equivalents." In this way the physicist can correlate diverse phenomena that are themselves incomparable and foreign to the measurable order. The quantification of data increases the accuracy and usefulness of observa-

tion and experiment in inductive science, but the search for quantitative values does not destroy qualities, for quantity is measurable only in so far as it is a quantity of some quality or magnitude. The quantitative picture of nature is not self-supporting, in spite of its precision : it is executed in a framework of qualities, with which the scientist must maintain contact. In certain phenomena there are approximate homogeneities, relative independence of remote parts, or elementary simplicities. In physical science generalisation readily takes the mathematical form because the observable phenomenon is due to the superposition of a large number of elementary phenomena which are *all similar to each other*, as in the striking case of light interference : mathematics, which enables us to combine like with like, can tell us the result beforehand by the process called integration. The only connection, however, between the mathematical series and the physical world is their production of identical numbers arranged in the same order. We have thus two series : one consisting of formal causes, the other of efficient causes ; one belonging to the domain of the essential, the other to the domain of the existential. Numerical coincidence links these two series. This apart, they are irreducible.

The author of *Electromagnetics* would appear to be in perfect agreement with Duhem, Poincaré, W. R. Thompson, Dirac and other eminent men of science in his estimate of the proper function of theoretical physics, and the lively quality of his writing is also apparent in his statement (p. 374) : " A clear distinction must be drawn between a physicist's algebra and his discourse. This is urgently necessary in the case of writers who write semi-popular books and cite *Alice in Wonderland* as a substitute for Newton's *Principia*. The only scientifically relevant and effective portion of a book on [theoretical] physics is its quantitative formulae, what we have called its algebra. The remainder, the ' discourse,' often consists nowadays of irrelevant talk about clocks, moving rods, imaginary observers, travelling twins, men in rockets. The *science* of physics is concerned with the physical laboratory on earth, the quantitative results obtained therein and their qualitative operational background." The statement may be compared with that of Duhem : " The sole test of a physical theory, which allows us to pronounce it good or bad, is the comparison between the consequences of the theory and the experimental laws," and that of Dirac : " The only object of theoretical physics is to calculate results that can be compared with experiment ; and it is quite unnecessary that any description of the whole course of the phenomena should be given." Physical science, in fact, is measurement, and it cannot reveal the intrinsic nature of things : it deals only with their quantitative relations and variations. So fades the transcendental view of the nature of mathematics derived from the Pythagorean and Platonic

tradition, according to which the world can be understood only by the science of number.

The 900 meaty pages of this provocative *Electromagnetics* represents only one quarter of an essay in constructive criticism of physical theory, written to awaken teachers from their "dogmatic slumber." The author proposes to deal with other developments up to quantum theory in further volumes. The range of reading evidenced in the book is immense, and the scope of this volume is much wider than the title would suggest. It re-states the current theory of electrical phenomena after a most searching and penetrating re-examination of the history of the science—the most thorough ever attempted, as far as I know. In consequence, as Prof. Bridgman points out in his review of the book in America, the accepted estimate of various traditional figures in the development of electrodynamics will have to be revised and justice will have to be done to such giants as Weber, whom the cult of Maxwell has caused to be neglected; Gauss; Helmholtz and Duhem, who logically stated Maxwell's views; Lorenz, Riemann and others. (The general neglect of Duhem's work in science prompts one to ask if he is systematically boycotted for trying to put Maxwell's theory on a sound logical basis, or has Maxwell been enclosed in a glass case in the Physics Museum, to be—like a classic on the top shelf of a library —indiscriminately praised by everybody but studied and understood by few or none). The advantages of the genuine relativity formulae of Liénard and Ritz are considered and expounded. By reducing classical electromagnetics to Liénard's force-formula, the author succeeds in explaining from it alone the so-called displacement current, all the experimental results concerning circuits and magnets, as well as radiation. In other words, he synthesizes the electron theory and Maxwell. The quantum physicist, who is notoriously meeting with great difficulties in his efforts to fit electrodynamics into his scheme of things, would be well advised to reconsider the classical fundamentals in the light of this tremendous result. The author further shows that Ritz's formula provides an alternative explanation of all the laboratory results, in spite of some difficulties in optics not treated in this volume.

The work contains the first thorough internal criticism of Relativity. No popular objections are advanced, no philosophical criticisms are adduced: the arguments are purely scientific. The author begins with a discussion of Voigt's formula (now known as the Lorentz transformation and forming an important part of relativity theory) and shows that it is merely an algebraic expression applicable to sound waves and other kinds of waves besides electromagnetic waves or ordinary light waves. Next comes an important analysis of "date" and "duration," terms usually confused by Einstein and his followers through their ambiguous use of the word "time." The author shows

that several formulae are not helped in any way by the special theory of relativity, such as the Doppler-effect law, the moving reflector law, the mass-energy law, and the mass-velocity laws of the electron and non-electrical masses. And he enquires pertinently (p. 448): "What then proves, or is proved by, special relativity? All the points enumerated have hitherto been regarded as proofs of the theory. If these are rejected, what remains? In optics we have the Michelson-Morley experiment and Fresnel's coefficient. As these are beyond the scope of the present volume, they have been only briefly referred to. But enough has been said to indicate that these too have nothing to do with relativity. The arguments, initiated by Einstein in 1905, are becoming decidedly tenuous. Physicists have been messing about with a harmless bit of algebra, on the strength of which they blossomed out into epistemologists and theologians. 'Back to the lab' would not be a bad slogan to-day for the science." To evade these objections, all attempts to attribute any *physical* theory to Einstein must be abandoned. Einstein's theory can be accepted only as a piece of pure mathematics. Similarly, in so far as Einstein's theory is claimed to have *physical* significance, the author refutes the alleged supersession of "the aether" and restores "space-time" to its common-sense elements.

Perhaps the most important part of the whole book is that dealing with dimensions and units of measurement. Bouasse says of contemporary scientists: "The collection of stupidities formulated in connection with dimensions truly exceeds the limit of what is reasonably allowable." The introduction of the author's "measure-ratio" should do much to restore clear and logical thinking to many departments of physics, and help to banish hypnotic symbolism and absurdities derived from it. It is scandal that the question of units and dimensions should still be the subject of controversy in scientific periodicals and of votes at International Congresses. The author's remedy is simple and revolutionary. He works out an elementary but radical exposition of the meaning of the symbols of physics. He points out, for instance, that "length" multiplied by "length" does not produce an "area," as is commonly supposed or accepted. Instead, he distinguishes between "length" as a spatial attribute and "length" as a pure number, measure of proportion or ratio, whose manufacture is the work of the experimentalist. Only numbers can be multiplied together, not spatial attributes. And what difficulties are cleared up by this simple remedy! And what philosophical problems are returned from the physicist to the philosopher, with whom they rightly belong! Not only are the dimensionalists debunked, but also Eddington, Jeans and Co., along with their delightful but misleading analogies and scientific fairly tales.

Electromagnetics will bring joy to the heart of every physicist who, with Prof. Bridgman, is dissatisfied with the existence of so many doubtful and unsettled places not only in the structure of Electrodynamics but throughout other great fields of modern physics. It will bring joy to the many experimentalists who find it a hard saying that special relativity is natural and inevitable. The book will bring joy not merely on account of its rash courage in challenging authoritarianism in science and its attempt to sweep pseudo-mysticism clean out of science, but also and chiefly for its able criticisms, its vivid appeal to first principles, its keen analysis and firm grasp of fundamentals, its splendid appreciation of the true powers, beauties and limitations of both mathematics and physical science. No other book I know of displays such lively yet sober impartiality in discussing the merits and demerits of scientific theories born in various schools, whether English, American, French, German, Swiss, Russian or Irish. They all come in for scientific criticism. The author sports no school tie, he waves no national flag, and as a rational physicist he refuses to worship at the shrine of the root of minus one or to follow the cult of paradox and professional esotericism and bad philosophy. He criticises with equal freedom Kelvin, Maxwell, Fitzgerald, J. J. Thompson, Poincaré, Heaviside, Hertz, Poynting, Planck, Lorentz, Einstein, Minkowski, Weyl, Eddington, and de Sitter—or rather he makes the reader criticise them by giving him, in deadly juxtaposition, generous and abundant quotations from their writings. Prof. Whittaker grants that the criticisms are in general " very able and often well deserved. Every page exhibits evidence of the author's acute mind and vast learning. The book contains an enormous quantity of critical matter of the highest value which, if assimilated into current thought, might effect a most beneficent revolution." The author is indeed a hard hitting rebel in revolt against what he believes to be premature dogmatism and illogical traditionalism in physics. All good physicists must surely say : " More power to his elbow, and may his next volume come quickly and bring us additional constructive criticism of the fundamentals of physical science."

P. J. McLaughlin

REVIEWS

Spain and its Civil War

DE JULIO A JULIO: UN ANO DE LUCHA. Barcelona: Ediciones Tierra y Libertad. 1938. 4 ptas.

COLECTIVIZACIONES. La Obra constructiva de la Revolución Espanola. By Agustín Souchy and Paul Folgare. Barcelona: Ediciones Tierra y Libertad. 1937. 3 ptas.

LA TRAGEDIA IBÉRICA. By Gonzalo de Reparaz. Barcelona: Tip. Catalana. No date given. 4 ptas.

VUITANTA DIES AL GOVERN DE LA GENERALITAT. By J. P. Fàbregas. Barcelona: Bosch. 1937. 5 ptas.

It has not been easy, since the Spanish Civil War began, to obtain literature of the Proletarian Revolution other than that which the Popular Front Government has prepared and designed for export. Partly this may be due to quite understandable material difficulties; partly also, perhaps, to a fear that authors may have been indiscreet. It must be awkward, for example, for a Government which represents itself as non-revolutionary, Liberal and democratic, and the Army as having attacked liberalism and democracy, to discover that a book has been approved by one of its component parties which states that "the military rising was not directed against the Popular Front, but against the Revolution about to be born which aims at uprooting everything" (*De Julio a Julio*, p. 9). This may explain why, on attempting to obtain the four above-mentioned books through a bookseller, I was unable to do so, and why, when I then asked a friend in Barcelona to send them to me, he had first to obtain permission to do so and then could only get them as far as the frontier Customs House, whence a French agency, after a month's delay, succeeded in extracting them and forwarding them to me.

De Julio a Julio is the most outspoken of the four. A kind of symposium in six parts, written by a large number of hands and dealing with the first year of the Proletarian Revolution, it bears the seal of Anarcho-Syndicalist approval, in the shape of a foreword signed "National Committee of the C.N.T." In it we are able to see the Revolution with the eyes of the Anarcho-Syndicalist worker. Apologists of the Popular Front at home tell us that this Revolution was invented by the "Fascists" and challenge their opponents to prove the contrary. Here is proof enough. These authors see the Second Republic merely as a series of rehearsals for the Proletarian Revolution. "First came the events of Figols"—*i.e.*, the Anarcho-Communist rising of January 1932; "then, the rising of January 1933; next, the insurrectionary movement of the December of the same year, with its more clearly marked characteristics and its dispersion over a wider area; then, the Revolution of October 1934, the greatest of the preparatory movements;

and finally, on July 19, 1936, the triumph of the Proletariat. Now at last the Proletariat has taken the leading place on the political stage and it is prepared at all costs to keep it."

This, emanating from so authoritative a source, is decisive, and the first two parts of the book, describing the outbreak of the Revolution in different parts of Spain and the " heroes and martyrs " of the Revolution, is written in the same spirit. The remaining sections are episodic, with the exception of the fourth, which should be of interest to students of social history as describing at first hand the creation of revolutionary organizations, the nationalization of essential industries and early attempts at collectivization, especially in the country districts of Aragon.

The most informative book that I have seen on collectivization, however, is that of Souchy and Folgare. This begins by showing very clearly the essential antithesis between the Marxist and Anarcho-Syndicalist ideals of socialization and by tracing historically the genesis of the system of collectivization which came in (" not as the accomplishment of a preconceived programme but spontaneously ") at the beginning of the Revolution. The nature of the system is then outlined ; the decree establishing it is reproduced ; and the results of the decree are then examined, both under the heading of each of the main industries in turn and province by province. Not the least interesting part of the book is a final section, which describes life under " Libertarian Communism " in three villages or small towns—Lécera, Fraga, and Membrilla.

Membrilla is a poor little town of 8,000 inhabitants, near Ciudad Real, in the centre of Spain, which fell into Anarchist hands at the beginning of the Revolution and was turned into a " free commune." The Anarchists began by burning all the churches and confiscating, in the name of the community, the whole of the real estate which had been private property. Food and clothing were also confiscated and distributed among the people. Money was abolished, to be handed out at need to inhabitants who were leaving the commune, and all industries were collectivized. A council (two-thirds Anarcho-Syndicalist and one-third Republican Left) was put in charge of the commune. Local products, including three litres of wine weekly per head, were distributed among the inhabitants free of charge, as were also water, electricity, medical attendance and medicine. Articles, such as clothes, which could not be produced locally, were obtained by bartering surplus wine.

" The whole town," concludes this interesting though idealistic description, " lives as one large family. " Several flies, however, are not quite covered by the ointment. We read, for example, that the one ecclesiastical building left undestroyed was occupied by

ıe military and that, " in consequence, there is no school for the hildren." " To remedy this deficiency in some degree," continues the uthor, " an art school has been begun, thanks to the initiative of a omrade : the results, after only four months, were surprising." No oubt they were : but man cannot live by art alone, and it is clear nough from the revolutionaries' own evidence where the education n that town had come from.

Again, it appears that the Anarcho-Syndicalists had hardly been n power for three months when Socialist opposition began to make tself felt—with the support, no doubt, of the Republican Left minority —and pressed for the abolition of this " libertarian " *régime*. If such ın opposition could gain a footing in war-time, what might be expected n time of peace—especially if the surplus wine would not buy sufficient f life's other necessities to go round ?

La Tragedia Ibérica is a much less serious piece of work than the wo books previously noticed, which, whatever one may think of their arguments, at least admit us to the minds of the revolutionaries. Señor de Reparaz is a veteran journalist of considerable talent, with some pretensions to being a popular historian, who was thought of in the days of the Monarchy as an *enfant terrible* old enough to know better and during the Republic as a somewhat advanced Republican. Now he comes out as a full-fledged revolutionary, certified as such by the editor of the notorious Anarcho-Syndicalist newspaper *Solidaridad Obrera*, and rewriting in outline the history of Spain in such a way as to represent the Proletarian Revolution as the consummation of the main events of its entire course (" from Recaredo to Alcalá Zamora ") and as the beginning of a new era. His pages on the Republic will hardly be pleasant reading for those who deny that, from 1931 to 1936, a Revolution was being prepared by the extremists. Casas Viejas was to him " the Anual of the Republic " ; and, just as the Republic annihilated the Monarchy, so in its turn it would itself be annihilated by the Revolution—" our Revolution," as he calls it again and again. " Our Revolution," he ends, " will conquer. Forward, comrades, and have faith in the destinies of the new Spain : *the Union of Iberian Socialist Republics.*"

Señor Fàbregas' book, entitled in English " Eighty Days in the Generalitat Government " and bearing the suggestive sub-title " What I did and what I was not allowed to do," is written in Catalan and will be a valuable source-book for the future historian of the Proletarian Revolution in Catalonia. The period during which Señor Fàbregas was Minister of Economy extended from September 25 to December 17, 1936. The work of the Terradelles Government, to which he belonged,

I have described in outline in *Catalonia Infelix:* the outline is here ably filled in by one who had both a good business head and a passionate belief in the efficacy of the measures which he did so much to further. Such were the creation of the Council of Economy, the institution of Collectivization and the unsuccessful attempt made by this particular Government to " mobilize the rearguard." To him the crisis of December 1936 was the herald of that " counter-revolution " which he (and many others) would date from the following April. His circumstantial account of the bitter and violent party strife which went on within the supposedly united Government of the Generalitat, as also within the Popular Front Government at that time sitting in Valencia, is strikingly revelatory of the Coalition's weakness. Señor Fàbregas writes with a simple and confident directness which cannot fail to impress those who read him, even if they disagree with his political principles.

E. Allison Peers

OUR DEBT TO SPAIN. By E. Allison Peers. London: Burns Oates & Washbourne. 1938. 5s.

THE CHURCH IN SPAIN, 1737–1937. By E. Allison Peers. Burns Oates. 1938. 1s.

In these two books Professor Allison Peers continues the task which he has pursued with such generous zeal since the Spanish Civil War began—the task, namely, of revealing the true Spain to the English-speaking world. No one is more qualified than he to do so; and the fact that he is not himself a Roman Catholic lends added weight to his testimony and stamps his defence of Catholic Spain with the note of chivalry. He has put this harassed people of another faith under an obligation which, I am sure, they will not fail to repay by giving him an honoured place among their benefactors; for he has rendered signal service where and when it was sorely needed.

English literature for four centuries has been characterized by an anti-Catholic and anti-Spanish fixation. It has not even yet corrected the bias created by sixteenth century propaganda. If we abstract from the Catholic minority in English-speaking lands and from a few scholars who have been able to overcome prejudice by knowledge, it is hardly too much to say that Britons in general look upon Spaniards as a lesser breed without the law. In the United States they are dubbed Dagoes, which is little better than dubbing them niggers.

The average Englishman remembers only the *auto-da-fe*, the Armada, Torquemada, the Duke of Alva. He still reads *The Bible in Spain* and, what is more wonderful, still believes in it. He admires the saintly Sir Richard Greville in spite of what research has revealed about this good gentleman. He repeats Tennyson's turgid rhetoric about " Inquisition dogs and the devildoms of Spain." Spain is for

him a popish land, cut off by the Pyrenees from the blessing of the "Pure Gospel" and the enlightenment of French Encyclopaedism. It is the land of reaction where crafty priests, when not engaged in keeping their people ignorant, dictate policy to trembling politicians. The chief amusement of the people, apart from the amours of the Don Juans, is supposed to consist in seeing bullfights and reading papal bulls—between which there must be some hidden nexus.

When Englishmen hear of civil war in such a land they are not surprised—and would be hardly interested were it not for Gibraltar and the vital sea-route to their Eastern possessions. A strong Spain might ask itself why what is geographically and racially a Spanish town should remain for ever an English possession. Such a question would be as impertinent and as awkward as the question being raised nearer home about Newry, Derry, Omagh, Enniskillen. It must not be heard. Hence the side less likely to raise it must be morally right in its claims. This is all the more evident when it identifies itself, in its own professions, with democracy, liberty, fraternity, equality, and the rights of man, whilst it stigmatizes the other side—all opponents of every kind—with the bogy epithet of "Fascist."

Professor Allison Peers knows Spanish literature, history, life and character with a completeness surpassed by no foreigner, and he is conscious of the injustice done to a great and cultured people by the hereditary prejudices of his fellow-countrymen. He seeks to remedy this injustice in these two booklets, which are meant for the ordinary man-in-the-street. They are, therefore, more popular in treatment than his two earlier works, which were directed more to scholars and serious students.

Our Debt to Spain is a form of primer to a more detailed history. It gives a sort of photo from the air of the whole field of observation. Though based on a scholarship both extensive and profound, it dispenses with the apparatus of learning and is within the comprehension of all. It is a bead-roll of names so famous that Macaulay's schoolboy will have heard of most of them—though perhaps from a different angle. It is a record of achievement of which any race might justly be proud, and proves home the contention that our civilization is deeply indebted to the race now writhing in the agony of a civil war—a war which some of those most deeply indebted to Spain are using every means to prolong. Professor Allison Peers shows that Catholicism has been the inspiration of the Spanish race in its noblest endeavour; and thus his book runs flatly counter to the discreditable propaganda of the Protestant underworld—now taken over and improved upon by Marxist and Left Wing enemies of all religion.

The second book, though very brief, is in many respects more important. Confining itself to one aspect of Spanish history and to

the last two centuries, it has a greater unity and a closer texture. Though only a résumé or outline sketch, it suffices to show the falsehood, nay the grotesque absurdity, of the calumnies which have been broadcast everywhere against the Church in Spain. Let us take one specimen from G. T. Garratt's *Mussolini's Roman Empire* (Penguin Special): "Every period of reaction has seen the Religious rapidly acquiring wealth. In 1931 the Jesuits controlled about one-third of the nation's capital, and their commercial enterprises were worth over sixty million sterling" (p. 172). That fantastic statement is too ridiculous on the face of it to call for refutation or comment. One does not refute astronomical figures born of colossal ignorance or irrational hatred. To say that the Jesuits in Spain could not have conducted commercial enterprises without violating Canon Law and their Constitutions would, of course, carry no weight with Mr. Garratt and his followers. But we are not concerned to refute his gross calumnies, nor those of Sir Peter Chalmers Mitchell in *My House in Malaga*, where he styles Cardinal Segura's pastoral of 1931 as "an open call to rebellion." These writers seem to act on the principle: If you throw enough of mud, some of it will stick. Any reader who wishes to know the true facts about the Church in Spain, will find them lucidly, objectively and attractively set forth by Professor Allison Peers in the two books under review. We thank him for the great and unselfish service which he has rendered to our Church.

P. J. Gannon

Biography

SAINT CATHERINE OF SIENA. By Johannes Jorgensen. Translated from the Danish by Ingeborg Lund. London: Longmans. 1938. 12s. 6d.

This is hagiography as it ought to be written. It lives! Johannes Jorgensen is no smug preacher weaving a weary sermon around the "gesta Dei per Catherinam" or dull industrious scholar comparing texts for muck-raking historians to ultilize and psychologists to abuse. He is a poet, a maker as much as a student. He makes us see! That is the magic of the poet. We are no longer in chairs of modern comfort before neat electric radiators; we are loafing in the streets of Siena, watching Catherine Benincasa and wondering whether she may not have a word to say to us that may stop our pleasant vices; or we are tramping the roads in her company to Rome or Avignon; eavesdropping when she talks with Pope or Cardinals; wondering, if we are among the privileged, what she will bid us do! And all in that terrible and wonderful age of the Great Schism of the West, when Christendom, as yet undivided by heresy, was rent by schism and faction. And we keep company with the greatest figure of the age,

the daughter of a Sienese dyer, who rebuked Popes and Princes, suffered and prayed. We see the picture as if we were contemporaries; that is the great beauty and power of this wonderful biography.

To facilitate reference to the great mass of material incorporated in this book, one would have liked a subject-index as well as the index of proper names. The critical notes and references have been relegated to the end of the volume, and it is not easy to find quickly the note you are looking for. Page and line would be better than book, chapter and number as at present. I pointed out this kind of defect when I reviewed Fr. Bruno's *Life of St. John of the Cross*. In any solid work, and this present work is solid as well as beautiful, no harm is done by facilitating the curious scholar who wishes to check a reference from time to time. Footnotes on each page spoil the looks of a fine volume and one can understand their relegation to the back-yard, but this desire for continuity in the text may cause more irritation to the reader than is his due. JOHN HOWLEY

WALLENSTEIN: Soldier under Saturn. By Francis Watson. London: Chatto and Windus. 1938. 15s.

THERE has, apparently, not been a biography of Wallenstein in English since 1837. Mr. Watson's well written and entertaining book was overdue. It has something of the time spirit in it when one reflects that Wallenstein was a frontier Bohemian whom Mr. Watson describes as half Slav and half Teuton. If the name is first found in Styria, then in Silesia, and finally in Bohemia, the "finally" does not bring us down later than the thirteenth century. At that time a collateral ancestor of the famous Duke brought sons into battle for the greatest king of the ancient Czech dynasty, Premszyl Ottokar II, against the first Hapsburg! I think we might safely leave the great seventeenth century general where he belongs—to the Czechs. Not that the Czechs are at all inclined to hero-worship in his regard. They leave that to the Germans, one of whom, a "Sudeten," Hallwich, is the historian, to whom Mr. Watson says he owes much.

While Mr. Watson makes excellent use of Czech studies on what might be called Wallenstein's amazing departmental activities, his biography is almost entirely based on the German "legend" of the place of this great soldier in the European history of his time. He seems to present Wallenstein as the statesman-general who, but for Hapsburg and Wittelsbach intrigues, would have created out of the chaos of religious and political confusion in Central Europe a unified German state from the Baltic to the Black sea. When that picture fades after 1629, Wallenstein becomes, at the period of the Second Command, the soldier dictator who will, against the unwilling Hapsburg or in his despite establish—on the principle, if not of religious in-

difference, at least of religious toleration—a German peace in Europe

Now there is another view and one which is, to my thinking after all I have read, nearer the truth. It is, if less favourable to Mr. Watson's hero, more satisfying from the psychological point of view, more positive and infinitely more human and dramatic. Mr. Watson's book has an excellent bibliography. In it and in a note somewhere in the text occurs the name of Josef Pekar, one of Czecho-Slovakia's as well as Bohemia's greatest historians. It cannot fail to be of interest to the world—it has a very real and immediate interest for us Irish—that Pekar for the first time presents Wallenstein as a Czech with all the dire consequences, for the Czechs within and without Bohemia, of his treason and his fall. I do not think that Mr. Watson has been as influenced as I believe he should have been by this interpretation. I realise that, if he had been so influenced, the whole framework of his work would have had to be altered and that his interesting though anachronistic and forced alignment of Wallenstein with Luther as German " national " figures would have had to go by the board. What could have been substituted for it would have been at least as compelling and more modern—in the best sense of that rather ill-used word. The odd thing about portents like Wallenstein is that the last thing one thinks of in connection with them is their real affiliations. And so we do not see Wallenstein as a Czech until Mr. Pekar obliges us (ignorant of Czech, unfortunately) with a German translation of this great study, first published in 1894, republished with additions in 1934, and translated in 1937. This failure to be aware of realities near at hand is perhaps a proof how much the world is still to-day, as it was in the seventeenth century, dominated by the Imperial idea. There is, however, even in the case of Wallenstein, so much of whose life was devoted to Empire, a very great deal to be said for the Czech angle. It explains much when it is presented to us by such a brilliant searcher into the critical periods of his country's history and such an uncompromising historical realist as Josef Pekar.

Pekar is convinced and convinces me that Wallenstein was in the years 1630-1634, if not a consistent, a persistent plotter against the Emperor. His interpretation of Wallenstein as a Bohemian of Renaissance type, the equivalent on northern soil of the great Italian condottiere; his insistence on phenomenal ambition and later a large scale thirst for revenge as chief motives for the conduct of his career; the large part he assigns to the mysterious and the inexplicable in his person—all this makes up a portrait well calculated to inspire the reader with pity and fear for the man and admiration and awe for his brilliant powers. The word dualism as applied to character is outworn perhaps. But it might be used here of the two loyalties—state and

nation—whose unresolved dissonance may have been one of the contributing causes of that great fall of 1634. Not that Pekar would admit any question of loyalty where Wallenstein is concerned. His "debunking" process is pitiless in its completeness. Yet, even when that is done, the historian is up against the unsolved psychological problem of so much strength allied to so much weakness. It is after all the arresting problem of genius in many spheres but most perhaps in the political.

There is little trace of that submerged Czech-German conflict in Mr. Watson's book, which (as I have said) follows a German tradition that seemed curiously unaware at times of the Bohemian in this mighty Prince of the Holy Roman Empire. Still less did such a tradition concern itself with the reactions on a suffering people of a treason which more resembled a persistent double-crossing than a consistent "betrayal" on any scale commensurate with the issues involved. That weak double-crossing is what Pekar bears so hardly upon. It wrecked the Bohemian emigré hopes and, infinitely more futile than an actual rebellion, plunged Bohemia in 1634 into a darkness from which it took her more than a century to recover. For Pekar, Wallenstein is not only the betrayer of the Emperor, he is a traitor to Bohemia —for his own ends!

Mr. Watson has, as I said, written a most entertaining book. If he had followed Pekar, he might have written a great one.

MARY M. MACKEN

I FOLLOW SAINT PATRICK. By Oliver St. John Gogarty. London: Rich & Cowan. 1938. Pp. 336. 16s.

"THIS book follows the journeys of St. Patrick as far as they are traceable at the present time" (opening words of Preface). As a matter of fact it does not. There are many places in Ireland which, according to good historical evidence, the Saint visited and of which no mention will be found in this book. But such a minor point, as it did not worry Dr. Gogarty, need not detain us.

The aim of the book, we are told, is "by describing the places which the Saint visited and sanctified in our island, to draw from these, as from well-springs, inspirations which shall be truly traditional, pure and undiluted by modern distractions and fatuous ideas of patriotism" (Preface). With his intentions thus clearly defined, Dr. Gogarty sets out to follow the Saint from his birth-place in Britain to his captivity in Antrim, thence to Lérins, and, short-circuiting Auxerre, back to the evangelisation of Ulster and the neighbouring country of Ireland (p. 19 ". . . . Ulster, which was in those days a separate part of Ireland, as it is to-day, and as it had been from time immemorial"). The author traces out the Saint's path across Ireland

(*sensu stricto*) from Slane to Tara and over to the western coast *via* Mag Slécht, Cruachan, Croagh Patrick to Cahir Island, and thence to St. Patrick's Purgatory.

There is much good writing in the book and many memorable descriptions of landscapes seen through " the eye of a poet." We must be grateful to the author, too, for the living traditions of the Saint which he has collected so assiduously in the places he visited. Occasionally, too, his topographical and more human approach to his subject throws new light on matters which have been viewed hitherto only from the book-worm's point of view.

But whether it was that the well-springs of the Preface did not supply " inspirations . . . traditional, pure and undiluted by modern distractions " or not, I cannot tell. It may be that the author's undoing (in the matter of his good intentions) was brought about when, like another Narcissus, he saw his own reflection in the waters, and that, musing thereon, one thing led to another. Be that as it may, as we follow the footsteps of St. Patrick, we learn a good deal about Dr. Gogarty; we hear his views on Orangemen, " Woolworth Irish " and the defects of Irish education; we get to know his weight and something of the state of his health; we learn of his predilection for giraffes and of his love and admiration for aristocrats and gentlemen; and we are reminded *passim* of the need of getting back (for the purposes of this book) to the atmosphere and mentality of the fifth century.

The author for the most part takes himself quite seriously, and at times German, Scandinavian and Irish savants rub shoulders with him on his way. But the strain tells, and occasionally the pious pilgrim slips away to take a little stroll down Sackville Street. Bury, Gwynn and Healy are dull travelling-companions for a poet; and when, as often, he tires of their company he doffs his doctor's gown (and frequently trails it) to take a turn, untrammelled, amongst the druids or the Fiana or the ancient half-legendary peoples of Ireland. Amongst them, let it be said, he is more at home. Though entertaining, it is disconcerting, for the transition is often unannounced; but, then, it is not for nothing that one takes out a poetic licence.

In an early chapter the author apologises for his presumption (" one so ill-equipped as myself with either scholarship or the knowledge of exegesis " p. 45), and on a later page he disclaims any pretensions to theological knowledge (p. 106). We may be excused, then, from the obligation, which might otherwise arise, of discussing many points in this book; in the matter of theology, for example, the author's views on ' inspiration ' (p. 105), on miracles (p. 183), and his general attitude towards legend. As Chesterton, though sharing with his friend Belloc the painful task of " objecting," could congratulate Wells on " the courage and constructive imagination " which went to the making of the *Outline*, so we can acclaim Dr. Gogarty's exercise of the

" right of the amateur to do what he can with the facts which the specialists provide " (Preface to *The Everlasting Man*), though we might perhaps wish that Dr. Gogarty had been more generous about admitting the specialists to his deliberations. Unfortunately, too, the specialists themselves sometimes provide fictions instead of facts, and it is to be regretted that in this book the author, in depicting social conditions in Ireland at the time of Saint Patrick, draws facts (or, better, fictions) from a most untrustworthy book on ancient Ireland which appeared a few years ago. That, at least, is the conclusion which I draw from reading, for example, page 308 of *I Follow Saint Patrick*.

Dr. Gogarty speaks on page 178 of modern Irish: " We spend millions on Woolworth Irish—call the language Gaelic if you will." On another page (280) he pleads for a " scholarly and sympathetic interpretation " of the Irish language, " so that the living heritage of our country be saved before it is disguised and dissipated for ever in heaps of opprobrious slang." Scholars should be endowed for the purpose. We agree. A beginning might be made by abolishing, in the interests of reverence and tradition, such forms as Achy Ainkenn and Ishnagh (for Eochaidh Aincheann and Uisneach), which we find in Dr. Gogarty's book. But it would be unfair to accuse Dr. Gogarty of want of reverence for the Irish language in particular. With high-minded impartiality he shows an equally courageous independence of the rules of orthography and grammar in the German language (Cf. pp. 194, 246).

There are, then, in this book many things which have nothing to do with St. Patrick and some that are little in harmony with the subject of it. Nevertheless, the author has a sincere admiration for the Saint, and he does try, especially in the last chapter, to probe the secret of Patrick's greatness. Yet we cannot but wish that he had attended more to the spiritual element in the Saint. We may not know with certainty where St. Patrick was born; many things about his life may be obscure; but the secret of his greatness is an open one. It shines forth from every line of the *Confession*. The greatness and the sanctity of the Saint are inseparable: he was great because he was holy. Very wisely Dr. Gogarty prints the *Confession* in full as an appendix to his book. If his readers will but follow him back to that great writing, they will find there most certainly a well-spring of inspirations " traditional, pure and undiluted by modern distractions."

F. S.

DAGOBERT. Roi des Francs. Par R. Barroux. Paris: Payot. 1938. 30 fr.

After the collapse of the Roman Empire at the end of the fifth century, the foundations of the future kingdom of France were laid in Gaul under the Merovingian dynasty. Chaos had succeeded the relaxation

of Roman discipline in the Gallic state and, with the invasion of wild races from beyond its borders, the existence of Western civilization was threatened. The Church alone preserved the old traditions of culture and learning, and under its influence several of the Merovingian kings helped to bring at least temporary peace and stability to their turbulent realm. Dagobert I, the greatest of these, is the subject of this biography by M. Barroux, who presents him as one of the early makers of France and the precursor of Charlemagne. Subtle, far-seeing and pacific, he unified the various petty kingdoms of Gaul through his statesmanlike qualities and wise administration and, having established his throne at Paris, got his authority recognised throughout the length and breadth of that country. Though his licentious court was mirrored in his own dissolute life, he tried to atone for his transgressions, in accordance with the spirit of the time, by founding many monasteries; and, while a zealous champion of the Church, he was as well a generous patron of the arts during his short reign from 629 to 639. The seventh century, in which his life was cast, was a transition period, wherein "the death agonies of the ancient world were mingled with the birth pangs of the new." And M. Barroux, while tracing the various steps that led to the consolidation of the realm, recreates in the chapters of this book much of the atmosphere of the faraway time.

In the great project of unifying his kingdom Dagobert chose churchmen as his counsellors and helpers, and these held high office at his court. Three of them in particular—Eloi, Ouen and Didier, who afterwards became saints—stand out by reason of their beneficent labours, secular and spiritual, during his reign. M. Barroux states that it was their zealous work which saved civilisation at a perilous time, and that it was the spirit of the Church, represented in them, which cemented the diverse races then in Gaul. All three had come under the influence of St. Colomban at Luxeuil and elsewhere and carried on the master's tradition after his death in 615. The author of this biography pays tribute to the great Irishman and his followers: "To battle against the mysterious, satanic power of the spirit of evil, another army was required . . . there was a need of monks, those adventurous knights of the seventh century ready for the roughest conquests . . . The story of monasticism has been told many times. It is beautiful and moving. It is stamped with a tender idealism, wherein the desire for mortification is blent with attraction for the divine. One needs but to recall the big part played by a Saint Colomban, the real father of monasticism in Gaul. Through the foundation of the monastery at Luxeuil the Irish saint gave a spiritual centre to that land, from which came many of those elect souls who spread the love of asceticism and the mystical life throughout the country."

On the passing of Dagobert much of the splendid work of his reign was brought to nought by a renewal of civil conflicts, and it was nearly two hundred years before Charlemagne appeared to begin again the work of national construction. Dagobert died in 639 and, besides internal wars, the decades that followed his death were marked by plots and intrigues for the possession of the throne. In a genealogical table at the end of his book the author describes the grandson of Dagobert I. as *exilé en Irlande* at the age of four years. The fact was that the young prince was the victim of a plot to deprive him of the throne and was sent to Ireland. There he was educated at Slane, the most famous Irish school of the day and situated in Meath near the High-King's court. After remaining eighteen years in Ireland, he was recalled to his ancestral kingdom, over which as Dagobert II he reigned for six years. R. H.

FENELON: A Study. By J. Lewis May. London: Burns Oates & Washbourne. 1938. 10s. 6d.

This study of the Swan of Cambrai, if somewhat slight and popular, is a fine and competent piece of work. Mr. J. Lewis May has a very real talent for biography. He has brought together, in two hundred pages, all the essential features of Fénelon's life and has set them out in just order and proportion, with the very minimum of that distortion which we can expect from a strong "Fénelonian," to use the Abbé Bremond's word. The summary of the Quietist controversy is very well done. I had occasion years ago to go into this famous controversy fairly deeply—a very wearying job I found it—and I have little fault to find with Mr. May's presentation of the subject, except its necessary sketchiness. Only Bremond could have dealt with the subject fully, as he intended to do before he died. What a loss he was! I was looking forward, with the utmost keenness, to that volume which was never written. On the human side Bossuet was a bourgeois, Fénelon a noble—two very different outlooks on the point of honour involved in the repudiation of a charming impostor who captured Fénelon's intelligence and all but fully swindled Bossnet. Mr. May does not fully realise the venom of "Montanus and his Priscilla," or how the mantle of Richelieu formed a dim but real background to the "mystiquerie" of Fénelon and the Beauvilliers. With the Duke of Burgundy as King of France and Fénelon his all-powerful Minister, Madame Guyon would have ruled France to the greater glory of the Confrérie du Pur Amour!

Mr. May draws a very interesting literary parallel between Fénelon and Newman. He matches some passages which surprised me by a similarity of style I never suspected. One splendid moral feature they had in common; they bore cruel misfortune like the great gentlemen they were.

Necessarily Mr. May is somewhat unfair to the Eagle of Meaux. He was no mediocrity, even if he fancied himself too much as the Warden of Orthodoxy in France. He was such a great and unique pulpit orator that he has ruined thousands of preachers by setting an impossible example. "Within that circle none dare walk save he." And he almost saved Louis XIV from Madam de Montespan. As a controversialist he has had few equals. Had he been a noble, he would have died a Cardinal. The scandal of the Quietist controversy, apart from the much exaggerated errors involved, was the polemic on the highest topics of spirituality between two men of genius who were, when all is said, worldly prelates. But it is something to have put so much matter and so interestingly in a small book.

John Howley

JACQUES MARITAIN. By Gerald B. Phelan. London: Sheed & Ward. 1937. 2s. 6d.

An estimate of the philosophical work and influence of M. Jacques Maritain would seem to be called for. He is undoubtedly the most popular of Catholic philosophers: he writes metaphyscis with style and eloquence and with the zeal of a crusader. *Vae mihi si non Thomistizavero*—in this adaptation of St. Paul's cry he expresses his sense of his vocation. The enterprise of Sheed and Ward has made him known to thousands of laymen, Catholic and non-Catholic, who owe to him their only idea of Catholic philosophic thought. The wide sale of his books too has justified at once the aim of M. Maritain and the enterprise of the publishers. Dr. Gerald B. Phelan, the distinguished director of the Institute of Medieval Studies, Toronto, would seem in many ways to be well qualified to give a portrait of M. Maritain. His book is an expansion of a lecture given in New York in January 1936. It is a survey of the work of M. Maritain which covers the chief fields of his activity and shows the comprehensive nature of his aims. M. Maritain is convinced that in the philosophy of St. Thomas alone will the modern mind find truth and modern society find rest.

M. Maritain has undoubtedly popularised the taste of metaphysics: he has taught laymen to examine the fundamentals in thought and ethics and art: he has shown them how much of the ills of modern life are due to the false philosophies of Descartes and Kant. But even a fervent admirer of M. Maritain will refuse to accept as a critical estimate what is in reality an unmeasured panegyric. "I regard him as *The Philosopher* of the twentieth century, a God-given guide and leader of thought for the age we claim as ours." One wonders what would be the reception given to that statement at any of the chief centres of Catholic philosophical studies. It is to do a disservice to M. Maritain to speak in such terms. He has rare, almost unique gifts

as a populariser of philosophical thought ; but not many serious students of philosophy, we believe, would assign him the outstanding position which his friend Dr. Phelan assigns him. H. K.

Celtica

EWEN MACLACHLAN'S GAELIC VERSE. Comprising a Translation of Homer's Iliad, Books I–VIII, and Original Compositions. Edited by John MacDonald, M.A., Reader in Celtic in the University of Aberdeen. Printed for the University of Aberdeen by R. Carruthers & Sons, Inverness, 1937. (Aberdeen University Studies, 114.) 12s. 6d.

The name of Ewen MacLachlan is best known in this country as that of the first modern Gaelic scholar to do good work upon the fascinating anthology of Scottish and Irish poetry known as the Book of the Dean of Lismore. In Scotland, however, he is remembered more vividly as the last of that series of 18th century poets whose writings are among the chief ornaments of the Scottish Gaelic tongue. His *Ealaidh Ghaoil*, written (as many of Burns' songs) to continue a few lines and a chorus which, along with their air, he got " from some of the north country students in Aberdeen " (J. MacKenzie, *Sàr-obair*, 1841, p. 338), is a love-poem of which Scotland is justly proud ; and perhaps no scholar has ever had a sincerer and lovelier lament made for him than James Beattie of Marischal College, Aberdeen, whose death in 1810 drew from MacLachlan the touching stanzas that begin *Och nan och ! mar a ta mi !*

Many Scottish poets have written " thrush "-songs. Alasdair Mac Mhaighistir Alasdair, the poet of the '45 rising, is commonly regarded as the inventor of this genre, and it is certain that his *Smeorach Chloinn-Raonuill* is the earliest extant example of it. Mr. John MacDonald, in the restrained and well-written Introduction which he has prefixed to the book under review, points out that MacLachlan's *Smeorach Mhic-Lachainn* is inferior in vigour to Alasdair's *Smeorach Chloinn-Raonuill*. Such criticism does not imply that *Smeorach Mhic-Lachainn* is not a charming poem. Moreover for Irish readers it has a special interest in that it (as also an earlier poem by the Piobaire Dall preserved in MacKenzie's *Sàr-obair*) contains stanzas in the curious style of a poem in literary Irish-Gaelic doubtless written by a Scottish author, which is attributed to Deirdre and has been edited by Professor O'Rahilly in his *Measgra Dànta :*

Gleann cuachach, smólach, lonach,
buadhach an fhoraois do gach sionnach,
gleann creamhach, biolrach, mongach,
seamrach, sgothach, barrchas, duilleach,

says Deirdre in the Irish-Gaelic poem, praising an unidentified glen;

Baile coisrighte nam beannachd,
fraochach, flùrach, luachrach, mealach,
martach, laoghach, caorach, bainnear,
coillteach, duilleach, geugach, torach,

says Clann Lachainn's thrush as from the tree-tops it sings the praise of Clunes.

MacLachlan, the perfect poet of Ealaidh Ghaoil, Eilidh Chamaron, the Lament for Beattie, and several other original compositions in Scottish Gaelic, has been only partially successful in his attempt to translate the Iliad, at which he was at work about the years 1798–1816, a quarter of a century before Archbishop MacHale was to undertake the same task in Ireland. MacLachlan chose for his medium the language and style of the Ossianic lays of Gaelic Scotland. Ossianic poetry is vivid, realistic and direct. In the possession of these qualities it agrees with Homeric poetry. Again, there is something of the Heroic spirit in Ossianic poetry; and Homeric poetry is very definitely Heroic. At this point, however, agreement between Ossianic and Homeric tradition reaches an end. In the first place poems written in the Ossianic tradition differ structurally from the Homeric poems. The Ossianic stanza is short; it normally has four rimes (with Mac Lachlan occasionally only two) giving emphasis to four words; it tends to fall into four, or at least two, equal divisions; and the whole composed of such stanzas is of necessity visibly jointed; for each stanza is complete in itself and clearly marked off from its neighbours. The Homeric period is very different: its ornament, the ever-varying rise and fall of dactyls and spondees, is unlike the regularity of seven-syllabled lines with rime-marked peaks which ornaments the Ossianic quatrain; its length is not fixed, nor are its thought-divisions perceptibly governed by its metrical form; and lines, periods, and thought-divisions are so subtly jointed that the whole which they form seems to be almost as perfectly one as are the wholes of nature. Moreover, apart from these essential structural differences, it happens that Ossianic poetry affords no model to assist a translator in reproducing Homer's subtle shading of language or his delicacy of human perception and sympathy.

It is their subtlety and humanity that give power and loveliness to Homer's speeches and monologues. When those qualities are lacking such passages lose their charm, and the poem that contains them becomes wearisome. Ossianic lays are by no means wearisome, but if they included long unsubtle speeches and meditative passages they would be so. Now the Scottish Gaelic Iliad under review may not unjustly be described as a long Ossianic lay which does contain such unpleasing matter. It can hardly, then, be said to be wholly successful as poetry. But though it lacks qualities which make the

Heroic poetry of Greece the greatest Heroic poetry that the world has known, and though those lacks appear in it as positive faults impeding the aesthetic effect that is the aim of poetry, MacLachlan's Iliad is nevertheless a definitely living shoot put forth by the tree of Gaelic tradition. In this respect it differs from our Irish Iliad, which from the beginning was a lifeless thing, nourished neither by the sap of the English tree which gave it its metre (the rimed heroic couplet) nor of the Irish tree to which in language it belongs.

Thog an Greugach 'na dhòid dhuinn
faob cloiche, 's i gailbheach crom;
dithis cha ghluaiseadh am meall
do'n tsìlidh tha nis air fonn (MacL., p. 137).

That is good Ossianic verse and good Gaelic, though when one considers it as translation one sees that stanza-necessity has brought MacLachlan to a stop before the rhythm of a characteristically leisurely Homeric thought was completed; for to the statement that "the son of Tydeus took a stone in his hand which not even two men such as now live could carry," Homer adds immediately "But he tossed it easily unaided" (*Iliad* v 304). That last phrase has been less pleasingly presented by MacLachlan as the opening phrase of a new stanza and a new thought-rhythm.

Of the Irish version of those lines we will quote only what corresponds to *οἷοι νῦν βροτοί εἰσιν*, 'such as men now are.' In the Irish that phrase is represented by "(dís . . .) *den am so suarach tá i ngaisgidheachaibh gann.*" Is it necessary to point out that *den am so suarach tá i ngaisgidheachaibh gann*, with its strange contortion of the normal word-order, is hardly Irish—certainly not Irish poetry? In it we hear perhaps a faint echo of the rhetorical "Such men as live in those degenerate days." But not even Pope's fine rhetoric can compare with MacLachlan's *do'n tsìlidh tha nis air fonn* as a simple graceful translation of a piece of simple graceful Greek.

Gaelic scholars are under a debt of gratitude to Mr. John MacDonald for painstakingly transcribing and publishing MacLachlan's manuscripts, thus rescuing his translation of the Iliad from the undeserved oblivion in which it has lain for over a century. As well as an Introduction in which MacLachlan's life is admirably sketched and appreciative yet carefully-stated judgment passed upon his writings, Mr. MacDonald has written a scholarly Appendix on the text, language, and spelling of the Iliad translation. G. M.

Classics

THE ORESTEIA OF AESCHYLUS. Edited by George Thomson. Cambridge University Press. Two volumes. 1938. 25s. net each volume.

Walter Headlam, who died in 1908 at the early age of forty-two,

was one of the greatest Greek scholars in an age of giants. His chief work was done on the interpretation and translation of Aeschylus, on whose plays he contributed a long series of articles to the learned journals. Unfortunately, although his prose translations, published by Messrs. Bell, have been the prop and stay of many generations of students, he did not live to crown his labours by the publication of an edition of any one play. After his death, the late Professor A. C. Pearson issued a commentary on the *Agamemnon*, with verse translation, based upon his notes and articles. Valuable as this edition was, it had some serious defects, notably in the fact that it included an introduction found among Headlam's papers but not written by him. The verse translation also, though it contained passages of great felicity, was on the whole not an entire success, because it lacked its author's final touches. Thus Headlam's work was not accorded, especially on the Continent, the full credit that was its due.

Now Professor Thomson, late of University College, Galway, has come forward with a magnificently-published edition of the great *Oresteia*-trilogy, which incorporates a full commentary by Headlam, including both all published by Pearson in 1910 and much other material since found among Headlam's papers in the library of King's College, Cambridge. Professor Thomson has omitted Headlam's translation and substituted one of his own, which follows a different principle, especially in the choral odes. His aim has been to reproduce the rhythms of the original in English unrhymed verse; and in this aim, though it cannot be said that he equals the beauty sometimes attained by Headlam, he has at least succeeded to the extent that his work will be of the greatest assistance to the reader who is not highly skilled in this difficult subject. He has also written an interesting introduction, in which, however, he is rather led away from the full elucidation of the plot and its history, into a number of anthropological theories about which there will be differences of opinion. In a metrical appendix he sets forth and applies to the text his own system of Greek lyrical scansion, based on that of Headlam. Here again it is to be regretted that he did not follow a different course. His metrical system, while in itself giving a good account of the facts, suffers by its unnecessary departures from the now fairly well established systems of scholars like Wilamowitz and Schroeder, and is therefore likely to cause the young student more difficulties than he ought to be called on to undergo.

The commentary, into which Professor Thomson has with the most praiseworthy skill interwoven his own work beside that of Headlam, is by far the best part of the whole work, and is likely to remain standard for many years to come. Headlam's reading was extraordinarily wide, and he was able to ransack all Greek literature for illustrations. It is a well-deserved tribute to Professor Thomson's

learning and zeal to say that he has succeeded in adding very considerably to his predecessor's rich store. Some of his notes are almost treatises in themselves, and he has on many points of usage and meaning elucidated problems that have baffled scholarship for generations. His previous work on the text has been marked by a sureness of touch and moderate commonsense all too rare among recent Aeschylean critics, and in some cases, notably in regard to the influence exercised on the poet's ideas by the Mysteries, he has made a real advance in our knowledge and appreciation. His text, of course, follows closely on Headlam's, but he has not hesitated in many instances to depart from his model, almost always to good effect.

There is one drawback to the general excellence of his work which deserves mention because it involves a principle. As he remarks in his preface, the greatest need in the present state of Aeschylean studies is collective research. It is a pity that he has not shown more readiness to take account of other recent work, in particular Professor Gilbert Murray's remarkable Oxford edition, which appeared last year and should at least have been mentioned. The perfect edition of Aeschylus is of course unattainable ; and where there are so many formidable difficulties to be solved, there are always bound to be differences of opinion on details. It can be said with confidence that these fine volumes mark a long step forward in the study of their subject. M. T.

Education

A SIMPLE COURSE OF RELIGION. By Most Rev. Michael Sheehan, D.D., Archbishop of Germia. Dublin : Gill. 1938. Pp. 150. 1s.

AN OUTLINE HISTORY OF THE CATHOLIC CHURCH. By Rev. Reginald F. Walker, C.S.Sp., M.A. Volume I (A.D. 30–1417). Dublin : Gill. 1938. Pp. 284. 3s.

Archbishop Sheehan is known the world over as a most experienced and successful writer in the field of advanced religious instruction. The thirty lessons for First Confession, First Communion, and Higher Primary Classes are admirably printed and illustrated in these impressive pages, which have served, in a recent Sydney issue, for the instruction by correspondence of Catholic children all over the Province of Sydney. The veteran and ever active writer's skill in education is especially evinced by the questions added to each lesson, every one of which marks itself as directed to the learner in the isolated family or so untowardly placed as to be beyond the reach of Catholic teachers. Here is a treasure and a power-house of Catholic truth, placed within reach

by reason of its marvellous cheapness and the simple dignity of its outward form.

Father Walker's first work as a writer for Catholic education responds to his high repute as a student of the Faculty of Philosophy and Sociology in the Dublin College of the National University. It is marked by its entire freshness and modernity of treatment, focussed for the senior Catholic student by its clear-cut statements of aims and of period characteristics. But it is far more than even a successful class text: it is dominated in its every paragraph by a fine avowal of the supremacy of the religious spirit in the study of history. Educationally complete and stimulating to further study and reading, it presents both the divine origin and ends of the Church, and her position in regard of the human factors and motives with which she is in essential contact. The scholarship of this most impressive schoolbook is conspicuous all through: the treatment of the recent revolution of critical opinion concerning the Photian period of the Oriental Church positions, as elucidated by E. Amann and his fellow workers, may be here cited as an instance of Fr. Walker's care. T. C.

THE TRAINING OF THE WILL. By Johann Lindworsky, S.J. Translation by A. Steiner and E. A. Fitzpatrick. Revised Edition. Milwaukee: Bruce. Pp. 180. 1938. 2 dollars.

CHILD GUIDANCE. By M. N. D. Dickson. London: Sands. 1938. Pp. 168. 5s.

This attractively-printed re-issue of Dr. Lindworsky's notable volume, published about ten years ago, presents the central psychological problem of Christian education in a constructively scientific form. The issues of Catholic education as compelled to act under very untoward and even hostile conditions in wide regions over all recent years, cannot but give it fresh significance in the training of Catholic educators for the new difficulties of their permanent work of service. Most of all will the writer's treatment of the force of motives, conditions, and above all of ends proposed for action, serve to correct all inadequate presentations of the doctrine of purpose in the constructive education of will-power in relation to future life-work.

The work of M. D. N. Dickson, dated from Dublin, presents itself as embodying the fine work of the Notre Dame Child Guidance organisations at Glasgow and at Liverpool. As its content clearly shows, it is dominantly concerned with the work of psychiatry, and excludes at once the ordinary range of child guidance and the care of the backward and defective child. For its defined range it is at once attractive through its literary form and impressive by its good sense.

T. C.

History

HISTORY OF MEDIEVAL IRELAND FROM 1086 *TO* 1513. By Edmund Curtis, M.A., Litt.D. London: Methuen. 1938. Pp. xxxv, 433. 15s. net.

STUDENTS of Irish history, already under a heavy debt to Professor Curtis, whose output, particularly in the last ten years, has shown that his admitted competence has a rival in his indefatigable industry, are now further indebted to him for his *History of Medieval Ireland*, which, published in a first edition in 1923, now reappears in a new, revised and completely rewritten edition which is nothing short of a new work, and a very notable one at that.

Though the new edition is much more easily read than was the first edition, many readers will undoubtedly still find it heavy going. Complaint is unjustified: medieval history will always and inevitably be heavy going. It may be easy enough to compile a very entertaining conspectus of the history of medieval Ireland, but one does not need to be a university professor to provide such a work, nor do we expect any such thing from a university professor. We look to him rather for a study which will examine and report on every detail; on the rise and fall of families; on the establishment of estates and on their subsequent history; on the schemes of princes and lesser rulers, and on their alliances, both matrimonial and political; on the external contacts, particularly on the contacts with the English power; on the fortunes of the Gaelic aristocracy and of the native subordinate classes; on the position of the Church; on the system and operation of land tenures; on everything, in short, which contributed to make up the Ireland of the period 1100-1500 A.D. This is exactly what Professor Curtis has provided; and lesser lights are enabled to extract from his work the broad general lines of a conspectus of medieval Irish history (such as Professor Curtis himself recently supplied in his *History of Ireland* (1936), pp. 58-158) with every prospect of remaining in close contact with what really occurred.

Very early in his work, Professor Curtis's narrative brings him to the stage where he stands securely on ground which his intimate acquaintance with all the documentary evidence, brought to light in great measure by his own research work, has made his own par excellence. There his expert hand guides the student safely through the period of the expansion and consolidation of the Norman colony in Ireland, and from that through the rise and fall of the fortunes of the invaders, corresponding with the fall and rise of the fortunes of the native Irish, down to what he so appropriately calls the "all-but kingship" of Garret Mór, the great earl of Kildare (1477-1513) and his successors down to the failure in 1534 of the ill-starred rebellion of Silken Thomas. In all this narrative the most critical reader will find little or nothing

to correct, even in the minutest details. In the earlier, and introductory, section of the work we have noticed some points which we hesitate to mention because of their insignificance, and yet mention because of the place which we believe Professor Curtis's book is destined to take in Irish medieval study for a generation to come. Thus, the synod of Rathbreasail adopted a scheme of one archbishopric with twelve suffragan bishoprics for the north and one archbishopric with eleven suffragan bishoprics for the south: Professor Curtis's version is at least open to misinterpretation; Dimock, not Brewer, is the editor of the Irish works of Giraldus Cambrensis in the Rolls Series; having accepted the earlier dating for the assault of Asgall (Hasculf) on Dublin, Professor Curtis should have given the date as May rather than June 1171 (p. 55n); Earl Strongbow was not in Dublin at the time of Asgall's assault, as is implied at page 54; the defeat of September 1171 cannot fairly be described as a rout of the Irish army, even though it forced the abandonment of the siege of Dublin; the "cartae" of the Irish bishops in 1172 are scarcely susceptible of the interpretation given them by Hoveden and Benedict of Peterborough, and apparently accepted by Professor Curtis; it seems more probable that Fitzaudelm published the September Letters of Alexander III than that he published any such document as the *Quoniam ea* of Giraldus's text (p. 65f); the Treaty of Windsor could not work, but only because the Norman barons refused to be bound by its provisions—there was nothing inherently unworkable about the Treaty itself; Professor MacNeill has dealt with the "legend that Gaelic society was based upon tribalism" more recently than in either his *Celtic Ireland* or his *Phases of Irish History*—he re-stated his case vigorously in his *Early Irish Laws and Institutions* (1935).

These are, however, admittedly points of comparative unimportance; and we feel that Professor Curtis deserves to be reviewed against a wider background. We do not think it does any violence to the thought of Professor Curtis to say that his attitude towards the history of medieval Ireland is dominated by two convictions: first, that the Anglo-Norman invasion gave Ireland a chance of becoming an up-to-date state such as the native Irish polity would never, and indeed could never, have evolved; and, secondly, that the stupid and ungenerous refusal to give the native population the full benefit of Anglo-Norman law and order as it existed in England destroyed the chance which the invasion had offered. This is not to say that Professor Curtis is out of sympathy with the native population, or that he hesitates ubout characterising the marauding barons in appropriate terms; on the contrary, he has every respect for the Gaelic tradition and never omits to show it. What we speak of is rather his professional historical temper towards the Ireland of 1100 to 1500.

These fundamental convictions are derived from a consideration of the actual historical occurrences which we are powerless to reverse, and are justified in so far as the alternatives to them bring us into the unhistorical region of what might have been, and involve us in the disedifying and ultimately futile gesture of crying over spilt milk. But the adoption of these convictions or their alternatives will inevitably dictate the temper, will inevitably influence the tone, of our picture of the invasion.

Was the situation in Ireland, then, so hopeless about the year 1166 A.D., was the outlook so gloomy, that the coming of the Norman barons should be welcomed as a blessing, albeit in disguise? Was there in the Irish polity something which would prevent the formation in Ireland of such a state as the Europe of the day aimed at? Was there any reason, inherent in the Irish character or in the Irish political structure, why Ireland should not, in due time, follow, with her own genius and her own resources, the example set by the other countries? Was the Ireland of the reign of Rory O'Connor in the middle of the twelfth century more torn by the rivalries of subordinate rulers than was Germany in the days of Frederick Barbarossa (1152-1190), more chaotic than France before Louis VI (1108-37) or England before Henry II (1154-89)? Was the battle-axe, mentioned by Professor Curtis as so effective in Ireland (p. xii), any less effective in other countries of contemporary Europe? Professor Curtis notes as a "fatal defect in the monarchy of Erin" the lack of an acknowledged capital; yet which of the other states had such an acknowledged capital, or alternatively, which of the other kings ruled from the safe centre of an acknowledged capital? Professor Curtis himself admits that the twelfth century was pre-eminently the period when the chaos of decentralisation, which was the paradoxical outcome of feudalism, was being resolved in favour of the centralised state. Why could not the Irish state similarly overcome the chaos born of the local independence of the territorial princes (*Landesherzogtum*—for the Irish *rí* was surely the close counterpart of the *Landesherzöge* of Germany, the *seigneurs* of France and the *barons* of England) and form, as was formed in other countries with an almost identical problem, a strong central monarchy of the most up-to-date pattern?

The answers to any or all of these questions may be adverse to our view; but until those answers are given we are entitled to adhere to our opinion that the Anglo-Norman invasion of Ireland not only failed itself to give settled conditions favourable to the native Irish, but also prevented the native and Gaelic Ireland from achieving such ordered settlement by its own forces. The Anglo-Norman partial conquest of Ireland must be adjudged, in the light of that opinion, as a disastrous interference with the normal evolution of the Gaelic state; judged thus,

even the highest achievements of the Anglo-Norman barons in Ireland, albeit they became *Hiberniores ipsis Hibernicis*, must appear as poor substitutes for what they prevented—to wit, the achievements which would have been attained by the native Gaelic aristocracy whom they dispossessed and drove from the proper field of their labours.

These reflections are concerned, clearly, less with history than with the "might have been." When we have shed our dutiful tears for Ireland's lost opportunity, we must, after all, turn back to Professor Curtis for the best account that has yet been given of the Medieval Ireland of actual history. J. F. O'Doherty

THE MASSACRE AT SMERWICK (1580). By Professor Alfred O'Rahilly. Cork University Press (Historical and Archaeological Papers: No. 1). 1938. Pp. 34. 1s. net.

This excellent paper on an unhappy and discreditable episode in Irish history gives further proof of Professor O'Rahilly's amazing versatility, for this would seem to be his first appearance among the votaries of Clio. His capacity in the new field is such that the historian, who yearns to attract minds of masterly calibre to his craft, must regret that the Professor cannot give more of his attention to this subject.

The problem which Professor O'Rahilly sets himself to solve can be briefly stated. In the seventies of the sixteenth century the Fitzgeralds of Desmond, like the rest of the Irish princes and lords, were fighting desperately for existence against Elizabeth. Their own resources being meagre and their difficulties numberless, they sought help from their chief Catholic sympathisers abroad, the King of Spain and the Pope. An expedition from the Continent, organized by James Fitzmaurice Fitzgerald in 1579, had failed miserably. In September 1580 a mixed force of Spaniards and Italians, numbering in all between 500 and 600 men, again made Smerwick Harbour in Desmond territory their landing-place. The commander was an Italian of Bologna, Sebastiano di San Giuseppe by name. Instead of marching inland and joining the Earl of Desmond, the whole force remained entrenched in the strong fortress called Dún an Óir, situated on a promontory in the bay. Here they were attacked on November 8th by a strong English army led by the Deputy, Grey of Wilton, aided by a section of the English fleet. On the morning of November 9th, after an incredibly lukewarm defence, the Italian surrendered. In the words of Grey himself: "The Colonel came forth with ten or twelve of his chief gentlemen, trailing their ensigns rolled up, and presented them to me with their lives and the fort. I sent straight certain gentlemen in, to see their weapons and armours laid down and to guard the munition and victual there left from spoil. Then put I in certain

bands who straightway fell to execution. There were six hundred slain."

Grey does not add that among these were women, some of whom were pregnant, and that three of his victims—the Irish priest Laurence O'Moore, an Irish layman from Drogheda, Oliver Plunkett, and an English layman named Welsh—were brutally tortured before they were hanged. The massacre was in charge of a relative of Grey called Ned Denny, who for his services was rewarded by Elizabeth with a knighthood and 6,000 acres of Kerry land. From him descended the Dennys of Tralee.

But this is far from being the whole story. There is high authority for the statement that the defenders, before they surrendered the Fort, were promised their lives and that Grey in consequence, when he put to death all but thirteen (including three officers, a sergeant and six privates) who were held to ransom, was guilty of the foulest treachery. Whether the statement is true or false is the main point which Professor O'Rahilly sets out to determine.

Grey's reputation has had its zealous vindicators. Thus a Miss Mary Agnes Hinkson, writing in a Kerry newspaper, declared: "In order to libel Lord Grey Roman Catholic writers will consent to wipe out an infinitesimal portion of the mass of hideous falsehoods evolved in the debased imaginations of the disciples of Peter Dens and Escobar, with which for centuries Romish priests have endeavoured to blacken the fair fame of Lord Grey's great-hearted sovereign as a woman and as a queen." It is well, then, that the entire material available about the massacre should be subjected once for all to a critical examination.

Professor O'Rahilly divides the evidence into four categories: the current English version, the Irish version, that of a third party contained in the Vatican archives, and that deliberately suppressed. He quotes the sources in full and then analyses them point by point: Having done this, he concludes that the Deputy did promise quarter, but afterwards conveniently broke his word. Hence the stigma on his honour symbolised by the use of "Grey's Faith" in the sense of "Fides Punica" is justified. Grey had, however, an accomplice in his treachery—no other, indeed, than the commander of the expedition, San Giuseppe himself. As a traitor and a coward the latter thus goes down to history with a double brand of infamy.

All must admire Professor O'Rahilly's statement of the case, and none but the grossly prejudiced will quarrel with his conclusion. The knightly virtue, then, of Grey of Wilton was worthy of the pious Queen who wrote, in praise of the gallant exploit: "The mighty hand of the Almightiest power hath showed manifest the force of His strength in the weakness of the feeblest sex . . . In which action I joy that

you have been chosen the instrument of His glory, which I mean to give you no cause to forthink. Your loving Sovereign, Elizabeth R."

Professor Seán P. O'Riordan, under whose auspices this paper appeared in the *Journal of the Cork Historical and Archaeological Society*, is to be commended on his enterprise in making such learned studies available for a wider reading public. J. R.

THE CIVIL SURVEY OF LIMERICK. Prepared for publication, with an Introduction, by Robert C. Simington. Published for the Irish Manuscripts Commission. Dublin: Stationery Office. Pp. 48, 532. 1938. 21s.

This fourth volume of the Cromwellian Civil Survey is naturally the largest unit of its valuable series which has yet come to students of modern Irish History from the careful and persevering zeal of Mr. Simington. Tipperary, the first county treated, was in two volumes, the baronies throughout being taken clockwise from East around to North. Limerick is in many ways akin to the far larger county; yet it exhibits not a few useful contrasts. Thus it affords a more representative admixture of the three main elements always stressed in the 17th century writers, as for instance in the Franciscan Papers, now housed at Merchant's Quay Convent Library, Dublin. These were: The Old Irish, The Old English, and The New English. Even in the Union Debates, 1800, the two former were always termed "the ancient inhabitants" as contrasted with the third, classed as "the English Colony," "the new settlers"; these even Mr. Pitt's Lord Chancellor Clare characterised publicly as "a motley collection of English Adventurers, civil and military," men who "settled the land of Ireland upon themselves." Their predecessors were always called, by the Puritan tribunals which recorded these essentially Gaelic and Norman tenures of Limerick, plain "Irish Papists." The Norman elements in this very informative county survey were stronger than in Tipperary: thus the Southern Fitzgeralds had a better hold on the land than the Butlers to the East. But within the thirty years preceding the making of the Survey in 1654–56, the "New English" had got a quite appreciable footing in Co. Limerick, while they had only a trifling part of Tipperary. They are therefore now provided with a new description, that of "English interest." The term played a large part in 18th century political writings; it was utilised both by the Anglican Establishment and by the English State in which it inhered.

The outstanding factors in this very full record are the accounts of the city of Limerick, over one hundred quarto pages, and of the town of Kilmallock, which extends to seventy pages. So thorough are the detailed accounts of single streets that they far surpass even

the amplest accounts of recent years. Mr. Simington's excellent work on Irish urban as well as rural history thus puts the modern student of Irish affairs in command of materials not to be matched in any other country. T. C.

English Literature

TOWARDS THE TWENTIETH CENTURY. By H. V. Routh. Cambridge University Press. 1937. 21s.

Professor of English Literature in Athens, the author is no great believer in the value of either English Literature or the Classics as they are generally taught and learned. For this he finds to be a symptom of the modern disease ; the moderns make too little of reality, and are too ready to disable themselves for it still more by seeking amusement or refuge in the past and its books. But past ages faced reality and lived in an adjustment to it and with a confidence unknown to us ; and their literature was an instrument of their adjustment and a support of their confidence. How, asks this ardent humanist, are we to get out of the present state of things, in which " the human spirit is not thriving at all," and regain a healthy life and a healthy literature ?

Renan, having played his part in the destruction of Christian faith and philosophy, declared at the end of his life—*Je le dis franchement, je ne me figure pas comment on rebâtira, sans les anciens rêves, les assises d'une vie noble et heureuse.* The words might serve as a text for Mr. Routh's book. He shows chaos following on the loss of these things ; he shows the failure of many substitutes devised in the nineteenth century ; with a rather doubtful optimism he writes of certain newer dreams as likely to be more substantial. It may seem to some of us that these are really little different from those that went before, and that Mr. Routh at last yields to almost the very deceptions he has been so relentlessly analysing. But whatever about the cure, he diagnoses the disease well.

The general view of the past century which emerges, when we look back over this large book, is something like this. Reason and science, beginning their task in the 18th century, went forward in the 19th to the destruction of the old life, religion, literature. The humanists—that is chiefly the poets and great writers, whom Mr. Routh regards as the principal architects of spiritual life—made little effort to erect a new building on the cleared ground. Rather they endeavoured repeatedly to mend the façade when the building behind it was gone—that façade metaphor, as applied to Victorian literature, is pretty apt. To-day their successors, having let the façade fall (and indeed helped the scientists in its final demolition), are either grubbing despondently and dirtily in the vacant earth or else, some of them,

digging for new foundations. Or, to put it unmetaphorically, Mr. Routh's thesis is that intellect gradually destroyed all but the reality of fact; Victorian literature, which ought to have grappled with the findings of Victorian science and spiritualized them, instead took refuge in the obsolete spirituality of medieval religion and medieval and classical literature; the first men of letters who *did* meet reality, the realists, became its slaves and not its masters; to-day, some have sunk to an even deeper degradation in this servitude, but others give promise of mastering reality and building upon it a new spiritual life.

Looking closer, we see first presented to us (with great critical insight both literary and philosophical) a gallery of the mighty ones of literature. Each promises much, but each is found out and dismissed with mingled irony and sympathy. The Victorians look like the Romantics, and indeed they pretend to continue the exalted confidence of that epoch. They are forever declaring that they are well adjusted to reality, that they have found truth. But they protest too much, and betray their underlying diffidence. The *affectation of adjustment* is the besetting fault of the Victorians, the cause of their insincerity and their endless eloquence. Emerson leads in this procession of dignified futility. He taught and sanctified the way they nearly all followed—to retire to the old world culture, to old solutions of old problems, and declare that the victory was won. Newman and his fellows, as Mr. Routh sees them, feeling the need of religion, retired into medieval Christianity and thought they had revived it. Tennyson protested a romantic pantheism with an eloquence which betrayed the weakness of his faith in it. He once indeed, by the great effort of *In Memoriam*, faced science and won; but very soon, when science returned to the attack more formidably as Darwinism, he lost courage and betook himself to medievalism and style. Browning faced the new age in *Pauline* (a poem of which the surprisingly modern nature is brought out by Mr. Routh), but then he too turned back. A happy and a healthy man, he would not hazard his advantages, but banked them safely with classicism and romance. He gloried in intense living and dramatized it in verse. But it was all in the past, and Browning did nothing, risked nothing, to help his contemporaries to live intensely in their own time. He was himself a *Lost Leader*. Carlyle seized on the romantic idea that God was within; but all his fanaticism and magniloquence, because his mind was not clear and honest enough, brought him only to this, that what was within was God; to the worship of cleverness and strength in Cromwell and Frederick and to the prophecy of it in Heroes yet to be. Ruskin was another who preached too confidently and eloquently what he was not sure about; he lost sincerity for himself and became the source of more modern insincerity than any other. When industrialism was to be faced, he phrased

about Utopia, not pausing to think that in his promised society the worker would starve before he found his soul. Matthew Arnold, whom the Victorians were inclined to regard as a jester, was the most serious and the soundest of them all. He did not pretend, and his mockery was mockery of pretence.

Mr. Routh has given here and there indications of what it was that was disturbing these giants. Disintegrating criticism of the Bible, geology (which gave Darwin his leading idea), political economy with its godless and inhuman laws. (Perhaps though he has said too little about these things, or not said it soon enough ; we sometimes get a feeling of much ado about nothing). He now comes to view closely some of the scientists : a group of men who were more than specialists, philosophers also and great writers ; they were carrying further the disintegration and at the same time attempting new syntheses. J. S. Mill presented a test case ; could a life of pure reason, directed to the good of humanity, satisfy a man's nature ? The experiment (for which the elder Mill had prepared by protecting his son from all the illusions of religion and even of romantic poetry) failed ; and Mill perforce changed his rationalism into the religion of humanity. Darwin, like Mill, was ready to meet the poets half-way, if they would. He showed humanity engaged in a fearful struggle, but he showed also humanity's strength. With such men, Mr. Routh declares, " we advanced, step by step, into the mysteries of life ; and each humiliating discovery ennobled us by the courage and intelligence with which we achieved it." Matter for the poet indeed.

But when at length the writers heeded science and took the path of realism they pursued it only to the humiliation, not to the ennoblement. Gissing is squalid, not tragic. Hardy sends his characters on the stage with a quiet and simple grandeur, but he always takes this from them to show them frustrated and belittled by a law of life which does not suffer greatness. Conrad, despite touches of the heroic, is also in the main a pessimist.

That union of science and literature bore only unhealthy fruit. But meanwhile a newer science was arising, less formidable to humanism. Fact comes to be viewed more subtly, with less hard outlines ; reason, by a new set of philosophers and psychologists, is compelled to make room for feeling and instinct. Nietzsche's idea of the Dionysian, S. Butler's of the vital, Bergson's of the subconscious are all nearly one, and form a notion of reality agreeable to our nature and favourable to religion and poetry. Bergson gave to a new literature not only matter but guidance—asking that it should form new techniques to express and at the same time enrich the instinctive life. Lawrence, Proust, Thomas Mann, Mrs. Woolf, Mr. Eliot have worked in some such way. But Mr. Routh's account of the thought and literature

of the present, into which he brings also the mathematicians and physicists, is too full to be summarized.

I have not read for a long time a book so full of matter and suggestion. It is an attempt to depict the whole mind of to-day and yesterday; no man could do that with complete success, and to say that Mr. Routh is far from having failed is to say he has done something very considerable. And it is a set of critical portraits not copied from earlier likenesses but fresh; all good, some of them, I think, more penetrating and complete than any that have yet been done. I have not mentioned half of them, and now I remember that Mr. Routh is particularly good on J. A. Froude, on Herbert Spencer, on George Moore. J. J. H.

Philosophy

CARTESIO. By Francesco Olgiati. Milano: "Vita e Pensiero." 1934. L. 20.

LA FILOSOFIA DI DESCARTES. By Francesco Olgiati. Milano. 1937. L. 40.

CARTESIO. Terzo Centenario del "Discorso del Metodo." Publicazione a cura della Facoltà di Filosofia dell' Università Cattolica del Sacro Cuore. Milano. 1937. pp, xxii+807. L. 75.

The third centenary of Descartes' *Discours de la Méthode* was made the occasion of several congresses and symposia, and gave rise to a great number of publications, in which the varied aspects of his philosophy are re-examined. Mgr. Olgiati's two books provide the most comprehensive recent study of Descartes as a whole. The earlier volume gave an exhaustive account of the setting of Descartes' philosophical development and of the different interpretations of his life and doctrine, as well as a survey of the modern idealist systems which trace their origin to him. This work, the outcome of great erudition, is a valuable guide to the literature concerning Descartes. While giving full credit to the various interpretations hitherto given of Descartes' philosophy, the author was not satisfied with them, and outlined his own view as to the fundamental intuition, the "soul" of Descartes. This view met with a mixed reception, and the promised later volume, in which it was to be more fully explained and defended, was eagerly awaited. A thorough re-study of Descartes' works confirmed his conviction that he had found the mainspring of the system. The new large volume pursues the method of expounding Descartes' philosophy in the light of this hypothesis. Readers will be grateful for this very full and systematic exposition. The new interpretation is defended, not by discussion of other views, but by using it as a guide to explain Descartes' system from within, and is supported throughout by extensive quotations from Descartes' works.

The central intuition which is the guiding clue to Descartes' thought is described as rationalistic phenomenalism. Descartes' philosophical revolution consisted essentially in the introduction of a new metaphysic, a new theory of being. Being is no longer what it meant to the older ontology—*id quod habet esse, id quod habet actum essendi.* The new conception of being is that of the objective reality appearing in clear and distinct ideas. Such ideas give us objective essence, objective being. Thus, the idea of triangle is an objective essence, which has eternally certain properties. This type of being, which belongs to ideas on their objective side, is not mere " ens rationis " in the Scholastic sense ; it is a definite type of existence. Reality is idea-reality. This is not an idealism holding that " esse est percipi." It is a realism which says that ideas are what is truly real ; reality belongs to the ideas as objective, as contents. Some mistook it for Platonism or for Augustinism. Unlike these, it is a phenomenalism ; ideas are real only as appearing to thought. It is a new kind of phenomenalism, quite opposed to the current type, which attributed reality only to sense objects. Descartes is very antagonistic to the senses, disturbing as they do the clearness of thought. His is a rationalistic phenomenalism. Previous interpreters had said : to Descartes, ideas have an epistemological value ; his central problem is one of knowledge—to show how to pass from ideas to things. According to the new interpretation, to Descartes ideas are the reality ; his philosophy is primarily a new kind of metaphysics.

In the light of this conception, the different parts of Descartes' system are shown as forming a compact unity, an organic whole. Descartes is not a philosopher half-Scholastic, half-modern ; half-realist, half-idealist. He gives his own original solution of the central problem of philosophy, the problem of reality ; and, moreover, he is keenly conscious that he has thereby achieved an entirely new philosophical vision. His new theory of being as intelligible phenomenon is the keystone of his system. Through it we can understand his doctrine of the soul, of God, of the world. He retains the old philosophical terminology, but transforms its meaning in the light of his new theory of being. Such terms as substance, cause, contingent, are translated into the new phenomenalistic meaning. The notions of person and spirit are similarly transmuted. God, instead of being " ipsum Esse subsistens," is the " first Idea." Descartes' proofs for the existence of God, especially his " ontological " proof, appear in a new perspective. The phenomenalist concept of being accounts for his theodicy generally, including his much-discussed " voluntarism."

Descartes' physical doctrine, especially his elaborate argumentation to prove that extended things exist, corresponding to our idea of extension, is more difficult to bring into line with the new interpretation.

Admitting that Descartes' new physics is phenomenalistic or anti-substantial, it is still difficult to maintain that the extended which Descartes proves to have existence is identical with the idea of extension innate in the mind. Here we seem to have a residue which Descartes' new conception of reality fails to assimilate.

The carrying out of this original interpretation of Descartes is a brilliant and forceful achievement. Taking it, as the author requests us to do, as a working hypothesis, it certainly clarifies and gives unity to Descartes' system. At the same time one is haunted by certain misgivings. The author does not, even in the new volume, advance a very explicit explanation of what is meant by Descartes' new conception of reality. He takes heed of Descartes' own warning, that there is a danger in stating his views in terms other than his own. Yet there would seem in this case to be a need of further explanation. The kind of objective being which, *e.g.*, the idea of triangle has, is, Descartes says in answer to Kather's objection, not merely notional but real: the idea is "quelque chose"; it is more than nothing; something intermediate between being and nothing. It is difficult to see how being which hangs on such a slender thread can be regarded by Descartes as the type of existence *par excellence*, especially as he contrasts it, as notional type of being with real being. At least in the case of some passages, the author's interpretation, in the light of the new hypothesis, seems to depend on a certain forcing. Thus, p. 88, the obvious meaning of Descartes' words seems to be that reflective thought is not a different kind of thought from direct thought. The comment on the passage is that "the second thought does not differ from the first thought"; because, since thought is reality, thought of thought would mean "reality of reality"—which is meaningless.

The large volume, *Cartesio*, is a collection of some sixty essays, many very extended, on various problems regarding Descartes and Cartesianism. The project of inviting distinguished scholars of many countries to contribute results of their research on Descartes was a happy idea of the Catholic University of Milan. Among the many well-known names of contributors are those of Blondel, Chevalier, Garrigou-Lagrange, Geyser, Grabmann. Comparing this impressive collection of studies with the much larger collection of brief communications published in connection with the Paris Congress, the Milan collection is more satisfying, as scope is given for an intensive treatment of the problems. Prof. Gemelli points out in his preface to the volume that although here we have so many scholars from different countries, with different cultures and with very different points of view regarding Descartes, all agree in affirming certain fundamental theses, those of Christian philosophy.

J. S.

MORALS MAKYTH MAN. By Gerald Vann, O.P. London: Longmans. 1938. 7s. 6d. net.

CHRISTIAN MORALS. By M. C. D'Arcy, S.J. London: Longmans. 1938. 5s. net.

The publisher's caption tells us that Father Vann's book is not "for the specialist but for the ordinary reader who feels that he cannot leave conduct to the mercy of convention or emotion, and yet is at a loss for any other guide." The "ordinary reader" may find the first part of the book rather heavy going. He will find, however, much to interest him in the second part. The difficulty of the earlier problems lies in the nature of the case. Questions of abstract ethics are somewhat remote. Behind them lies a whole philosophic system. To attempt, as Father Vann does, to compress into a single chapter "the Thomist Principle" is an almost impossible task. Nor is it easy to make intelligible in so brief a treatment those intricate problems about the right and the good which have been, and are, so fruitful a source of controversy among philosophers. Father Vann, however, is very cheerful, not to say breezy, about it all, and brings to the support of Thomism the most astonishing allies. His quotational net has a wide sweep and lands some surprising fishes.

"'All men naturally desire to know,' says Aristotle. In *Tristram Shandy* the same great truth is differently expressed." (p. 17). "The right action is what is according to nature, *i.e.* to reason, and Ronsard surely was urging a moral lesson when he counselled the visitor to the grave of Rabelais, the *bon biberon*, to lay not lilies, however freshly plucked, but cups and flagons on the tomb" (p. 28). Many of Father Vann's allies, and it is amazing the number of them he ropes in, would be greatly bewildered to find themselves in this *galère*. Thomistic philosophy (or what is called the Thomistic synthesis) is very comprehensive and capable of absorbing much. Father Vann thinks that even the Kantian Categorical Imperative is not too tough a morsel. In the sense in which Kant uses it, however, it is certainly erroneous and mistaken. That in some other sense it can be reconciled with Thomism seems to lack significance.

The second part of the book is devoted to special problems which are of peculiar interest at the moment. In agreement with M. Maritain, Father Vann rightly insists on the foolishness of what he calls the separatist position and on the necessity of meeting modern problems with a Thomistic philosophy which is thoroughly alive and capable of absorbing any philosophical truth. He has many interesting things to say on a variety of problems, ethical, liturgical and theological. The principle which animates his discussion is that the Thomist "cannot go into the world of thought without effort of understanding; he cannot speak to the world if he speaks in an alien tongue."

The first part of Fr. D'Arcy's book consists of broadcast addresses on Christian Morality. The impersonal, miscellaneous and unresponsive audience to which such discourses are addressed is not, perhaps, an ideal source of philosophical inspiration. Father D'Arcy overcomes the difficulties of this kind of composition with unusual skill. The second part of the book, in which he has less need of compression and in which he deals with problems which are in the focus of attention at the moment, displays more obviously his gift of clear and lucid exposition. The fact that the book is so eminently readable conceals the resources of scholarship upon which Father D'Arcy can always draw. The book, brief as it is, has interest not merely for the ordinary reader but for the expert. It is at once elegant and persuasive.

D. O'K.

CREATIVE MORALITY. By Louis Arnaud Reid. Allen & Unwin. 1938. 10s. 6d. net.

Mr. Reid is convinced that the approach to philosophy and ethics should be concrete rather than abstract. It is now fashionable to begin with a logical analysis of certain abstract ideas like the good, right, duty, value and so forth. But the world in general does not appear to us in fragments and human nature is more of a totality than the world in general. We must start, therefore, with a larger field rather than with isolated concepts. Not that exact definition and analysis are to be excluded. But it is important that they should come in the right place. If we start, again, with mere particular duties and obligations we seem to find a chaos of unrelated particulars, and in fact the suggestion is made by Professor Prichard that moral science or ethics is a mistake and that there is no general theory or explanation of moral conduct. Mr. Reid thinks that at the outset we should view the field as a whole. "The field of ethics in its largest aspects is just man, as knowing, imagining, desiring, willing, feeling; man living not as a solitary, living not even merely as a member of society, but man as an inhabitant of the universe. . . . . We shall have to try to look at the rightness of particular actions as we look at part of a picture or listen to part of a symphony. The part can only be understood if there is an intuition of the whole." (p. 37).

That this is the correct approach to Ethics Mr. Reid argues in a very convincing way. He begins with an elaborate and acute criticism of recent English speculation on the fundamental concepts of ethics. The paradoxical separation of the right and the good he regards—I think, correctly—as unjustifiable. The whole controversy is of great interest, but it would be impossible to discuss it in a brief review. Mr. Reid devotes more attention to what he regards as a neglected problem in philosophic works on ethics, "the question of *how* the

general attitude or spirit is related to duty and right in expressive action." What interests him is the problem of " creative " expression, and he examines elaborately the likenesses and the differences between creative expression in morals and in art. Finally, he concludes his book with an account of the relations between religion and creative morality. D. O'K.

Sociology

REFORM OR REVOLUTION? By Rev. Professor James E. O'Mahony, O.M.Cap.

MODERN DEMOCRACY. By Professor James Hogan.

ECONOMICS AND THE WORKER. By Rev. W. Paschal Larkin, O.M.Cap. (University and Labour Series, I, II, and III.) Cork : University Press. Dublin : Educational Co. of Ireland. London : Longmans. 1s. each.

THE NECESSITY OF FREEDOM. By Douglas Jerrold. London : Sheed and Ward. 7s. 6d. net.

More than twenty years ago, in the great days when all Ireland was pulsating with new ideas, the Cork University Press, then just founded, began, under the brilliant direction of Professor O'Rahilly, to issue a series of studies on social questions which were at once within reach of the least wealthy reader and full of promise for the future. Unfortunately the venture was too early—or too late—and had to be abandoned as times turned unpropitious. Now, under the auspices of a University Extension scheme and again under the direction of Professor O'Rahilly, there has appeared a new series the first numbers of which promise even better than formerly. We may safely say that Irish readers have never had put at their disposal in such a convenient form and so cheaply the fruits of such high training and so much mature wisdom on all-important modern problems as in these three little works. The longest contains only ninety-five pages, the shortest sixty ; but their contents in all three cases are distilled from the profoundest study and the widest range of learning.

Father James leads off with a skilful and eloquently-written little introduction to the study of philosophy, a " protreptic " in the ancient sense, but carefully related to the needs of the present-day general reader. Having established the necessity for intellectual and moral theory and its relation to the teaching both of secular wisdom and of the Church, he passes, in his second chapter, to a comparison between the three dominant conceptions of life that are now challenging one another : nihilist pessimism or scepticism, which denies that life has a meaning ; the pseudo-religion of communism, which explains life on a materialist and determinist basis ; and the Thomist synthesis of Greek and Christian thought, which, starting from the natural desire

for happiness, finds its rational end in God. His two final chapters deal with the application of this synthesis to the State and society, emphasising on the one hand the right of the former to its independence as against over-grown individual appetites in its own domain, and on the other the need for the strict and careful delimitation of that domain so as to leave free scope for the family and the autonomous personality. This leads by a natural transition to democracy, its virtues and dangers, both of which are clearly and cogently set forth.

Professor Hogan has a wider sweep in the historical sense, and in many ways deepens and supplements the teaching of Fr. James. His subject is the ideological content behind the form of democracy and the relation of that content to liberal, communist, and totalitarian theories. He examines with critical thoroughness the meaning, as worked out in history, of such famous formulas as Lincoln's " government of the people, by the people, for the people " and the French Liberty, Equality, Fraternity, showing that the former is in part a myth in the most typical modern States, while the latter has tended to sacrifice Fraternity, the essentially Christian concept, to the other two elements in the triad. In fact, modern representative democracy has a dual descent. What is soundest in it comes down from the Christian Middle Ages; what is defective or diseased has its roots in the Renaissance and Reformation and in their product the French Revolution. There follows a skilful and original analysis of 19th century Liberalism, " an uneasy compromise between civilisation and anarchism," essentially anti-democratic and anti-intellectual because of its rejection of authority, and fatally tending to progress from its first Utopian stage through the Darwinian struggle for survival to the jungle of capitalist exploitation and its death in the Servile State. Next to be analysed is the parliamentary system, whose weakness has lain in the modern rejection of " metaphysical unity " as Maritain terms it. This rejection goes back *via* the party system to the principle of majority rule in its heretical Rousseauistic form of the " general will." In two very full final chapters we have the same careful examination of functional democracy and workers' democracy, summing up their advantages and possible weaknesses and stressing the need for a complete overhauling of our Irish social and political ideas, too often derived mechanically from English sources. It is impossible in a brief review to do justice to the wealth of ideas in Professor Hogan's pamphlet or to the originality with which he has thought out every stage of his argument.

Father Paschal Larkin was a contributor to the original Cork series of twenty years ago with a little study of Marxian socialism than which nothing better has since appeared among a regular torrent of treatises. Here he gives the worker or the beginner a brief intro-

duction to Economics, commencing with a "protreptic" as Fr. James does on philosophy, and stressing the vital connection between morality and economic theory, which was so disastrously neglected during the past century. His second chapter is a kind of sounding in the vast depths of his subject, dealing with wage-theories from the medieval thinkers down to Adam Smith, Ricardo, and the modern return to healthier views. His third gives a very instructive critical account of Marx and his teaching, and his fourth a discussion, in a Christian setting, of the great problem of inequality. His work differs from the others to its own advantage by offering a brief summary of references after each chapter, in which one is a little surprised to find no mention of Tawney's classic, now available for sixpence. Father Paschal shows all his youthful mastery of his science and a skill in its exposition which makes this work more fascinating, if possible, than his first.

There is a striking similarity and an instructive difference between these Irish works and that of Mr. Douglas Jerrold. The Irishmen are professors, while Mr. Jerrold is an English Catholic publicist who has already done much to keep alive in his own rather unheeding country the message of Chesterton and Belloc to an older generation. Like the Irishmen, Mr. Jerrold is a critical democrat, demanding that democracy be restored, before it perish, to its Christian foundations. At the same time, as a loyal Englishman, he is concerned both with his country's internal economy and its position in the dangerous world of power-politics. In his insistence on the separation of Church and State he is at one with Fr. James. His criticisms of modern slogans like the Leisure State and of the aberrations of extreme pacifism are both original and profound; indeed it would be difficult to better the cogent simplicity of his defence of force as the ultimate sanction in both national and international politics, while he is of course careful to emphasise the necessary moral and other restrictions on its use.

There are one or two points on which he lays himself open to certain doubts. His style is a little over-hasty and leads him at times into regions where he does not walk carefully enough. When he speaks, for instance, on page 160, of "Arthur Griffith and his republican army" as being joint inventor of Fascism with Sir Edward Carson, his Irish readers can only smile, perhaps a little wryly, at this rash simplification, to which it would take Griffith himself to do real justice. On the whole, we feel that Mr. Jerrold's weakness for the Empire, which he actually declares (page 229) to have been "built up on the basis of a firm conception of justice and order," is also a weakness in his presentation of the case for Christian principles in politics. That "firmness" puts a bold front on more sins than can be atoned for by the righteous defence of the *status quo*. M. T.

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ARENDZEN, J. P. Faith and Common Sense. Meditations for Sundays and Holidays. (Burns Oates, 6/–).
ATTWATER, DONALD. Eastern Branches of the Catholic Church. Six Studies on the Oriental Rites. (Longmans, 6/–).
BARRETT, ALFRED. Mint by Night. Poems. (America Press, 1.50 dollars).
BELLOC, HILAIRE. The Question and the Answer. (Longmans, 3/6).
BELLOC, HILAIRE. Return to the Baltic. Illustrated. (Constable, 12/6).
BENNETT, C. M. AND H. L. Civic English. Book III. (Black, pp. 221).
BLACK, MRS. GEORGE. My Seventy Years. (Nelson, 8/6).
BLUNDELL, DOM F. O. Old Catholic Lancashire. Vol. II. (Burns Oates, 6/–).
BODIN, CHARLES. La Doctrine sociale de l'Eglise et la Science économique. (Editions Spes, 7.50 fr.).
BOURGEOIS, H. Petites Méditations pour les principaux jours de l'année. (Spes, 18 fr.).
BREHIER, LOUIS AND RENE AIGRAIN. Histoire de l'Église. Tome V—590–756. (Bloud & Gay, 75 fr.).
BROWN, STEPHEN J. Poison and Balm. (Browne & Nolan, 5/–).
BUITLEIR, EIBHLIN. Géograif don Ghaedheal óg. Cuid III. (Comhlucht Oideachais).
BUTLER, ELENOR. Irish Student's Geography. Part III. (Educational Co.)
CABROL, ABBOT. The Year's Liturgy. Vol. I. The Seasons. (Burns Oates, 7/6).
CARREAU, ALBERT. Clément Brentano. (Desclée De Brouwer, 20 fr.).
CERIANI, GRAZIOSO. Orientamenti teologici nel Novecento. (*Vita e Pensiero*, L. 6).
CHAIGNE, LOUIS. Anthologie de la Renaissance catholique. ("Alsatia," 25 fr.).
CHANTAL, SISTER F. DE. Julie Billiart and her Institute. (Longmans, 7/6).
CHESTERTON, G. K. Coloured Lands. Illustrated by the Author. (Sheed & Ward, 7/6).
COFFEY, PETER. Ontology, Epistemology (2 vols.), Science of Logic (2 vols.). New York; Peter Smith. London: Longmans, 15/– each vol.
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DANIEL-ROPS. The Poor and Ourselves. (Burns Oates, 2/6).
DAVIGNON, HENRI. La Simple Histoire du Bon Père Petit, S.J. (Lethielleux,15 fr.).
DEAN, JOSEPH. The New Testament. Vol. I. Synoptic Gospels. (Longmans, 10/6).
DILLARD, VICTOR. Au Dieu Inconnu. (Beauchesne, 22 fr.).
DILLARD, VICTOR. Lettres à Jean-Pierre. (Editions Spes, 15 fr.).
DINGLE, R. J. Russia's Work in France. (Robert Hale, 12/6).
DIPLOMATICUS. The Czechs and their Minorities. (Thornton Butterworth, 5/–).
DODD, FRANK. An Introduction to the Study of Christianity. (Allen & Unwin, 12/6).
FARRELL, WALTER. Companion to the Summa. Vol. II—The Pursuit of Happiness. (Sheed & Ward, 10/6).
FERRAL, ROSE NOLAN. The D.X.V. Prophecy. Dante and the Sabbatum Fidelium. (Blackwell, 6/–).
FOUCAULD, CHARLES DE. Sermons in the Sahara. (Burns Oates, 2/6).
FRANKE, H. The Salvation of the Nations. Preface by Karl Adam. (Coldwell, 4/).
GALINSKY, HANS. Deutsches Schriftum der Gegenwart in der englischen Kritik. (Munich: Max Hueber. RM. 19.50).
GAUTHIER, EMMANUEL. Le Vrai Louis Veuillot. (" Alsatia," pp. 389).
GEARY, SISTER M. T. History of Third Parties in Pennsylvania, 1840-1860. (Catholic University of America, pp. 285).
GIBBONS, JOHN. Ireland the New Ally. (Browne & Nolan, 8/6).
GILSON, ETIENNE. The Unity of Philosophical Experience. (Sheed & Ward, 10/6).
GIRAUD, VICTOR. Le Problème religieux et l'Histoire de la Littérature francaise. (" Alsatia," 20 fr.).
GOBILLOT, RENE. Les Soeurs Saint Paul de Chartes. (Grasset, 18 fr.).
GOHMANN, SISTER M. DE L. Political Nativism in Tennessee to 1860. (Catholic University of America, pp. 192).
GOYAU, GEORGES. Le Christ chez les Papous. (Beauchesne, 15 fr.).
HAMMOND, J. L. Gladstone and the Irish Nation. (Longmans, 36/–).
HOLLIS, CHRISTOPHER. Lenin. (Longmans, 10/6).
JACKSON, KENNETH. Cath Maighe Léna. (Stationery Office, pp. 224).
JONES, A. H. M. The Herods of Judaea. (Clarendon Press, 8/6).
JOPPIN, GABRIEL. Fénelon et la Mystique du Pur Amour. (Beauchesne, 55 fr.).
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KEARNEY, J. You shall find rest. (Burns Oates, 6/–).
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LEEN, EDWARD. Why the Cross? (Sheed & Ward, 7/6).
LLOYD-JONES, J. Geifra Barddoniaeth Gynner Gymraeth. Daud-Dofre. (University of Wales Press, 12/6).
LOPES, ARTHUR. Politics. A Portuguese Statesman. (Methuen, 5/–).

(*The remainder of the list of Books Received had unavoidably to be held over*).

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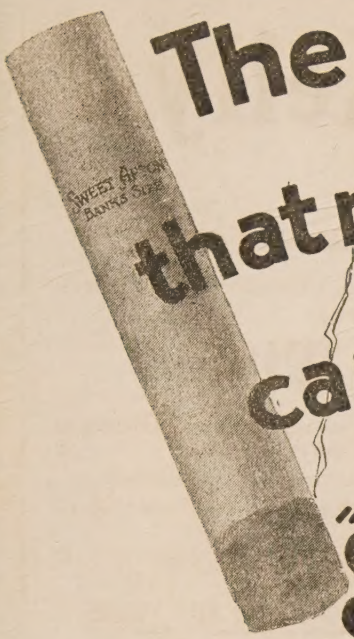

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